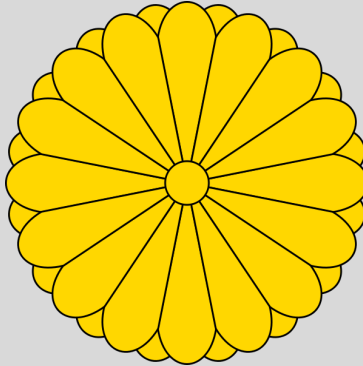


IMPERIAL JAPAN



Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War,
& Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

By William P. Litynski

The Americanization & Europeanization of Japan



American Gunboat Diplomacy: U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry prepares to meet the Imperial Commissioners at Yokohama, Japan on July 8, 1853. Commodore Perry visited Japan to persuade the Tokugawa Shogunate to open Japanese harbors to American ships for trade and fuel; Commodore Perry and Japanese officials signed the Treaty of Kanagawa on March 31, 1854, allowing American merchants to trade in Japan. American merchants and missionaries visited Japan, China, and Hawaii frequently during the late 1800s. The opening of Japan's harbor to American ships was integral part of America's "China Trade". The ruling Tokugawa Shogunate maintained an isolationist foreign policy, a restriction on foreign trade (trade with Dutch, Chinese, and Korean merchants), and a ban on travel to foreign countries from 1635 to 1853.



Left painting: The Belmont family at The Hague around 1854. From left to right: Isabel Perry, Hessen-born Jewish banker August Belmont (U.S. Minister to the Netherlands), Perry Belmont, Caroline [Slidell Perry] Belmont, Fredericka Belmont, Jane Perry, August Belmont, Jr., and Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry. August Belmont married Caroline Slidell Perry, the daughter of Matthew C. Perry, on November 7,

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and
the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish
firm, lasting and sincere friendship be-
tween the two Nations, have resolved to fix
in a manner clear and positive, by means
of a Treaty or general convention of peace
and Amity, the rules which shall in future
be mutually observed in the intercourse of
their respective Countries; for which most
desirable object, the President of the United
States has conferred full powers on his
Commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry,
Special Ambassador of the United States
to Japan: And the August Sovereign
of Japan, has given similar full powers
to his Commissioners, Hayashi, Dai-gaku
no Kami; Ido, Prince of Tsus-sima;
Izawa, Prince of Mima-saki; and Udono,
Member of the Board of Revenue. And
the said Commissioners after having exchanged
their said full powers, and duly considered the
premises, have agreed to the following Articles.

A copy of the Treaty of Kanagawa, written in March 1854. The Treaty of Kanagawa opened the Japanese ports of Shimoda and Hakodate (Hokkaido) to American trade. (Document: National Archives)

Prelude to the Opening of Japan: The China Trade & Opium War



The Factories at Canton, China, where American, British, Dutch, and other foreign merchants sold tea and opium to Chinese merchants. (Marine Paintings and Drawings in the [Peabody Essex Museum](#))



The Opium War (1839-1842). The British government under Queen Victoria waged war against the Manchurian Chinese Empire in an attempt to allow merchants to sell opium in China. The Manchurian Chinese Empire (Ch'ing Dynasty) ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain in 1842.



No. 42. Victoria West and P. & O. Hong. c. 1851. Water-colour.

G. Chinnery.

View of the west part of the city of Victoria, Hong Kong, showing the premises of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with their flag over the godown. The flags behind the P.&O. are French and American. The hong l., of the picture is probably the Oriental Bank (opened 1845) and has long disappeared as well as the office of the P.&O. The 'Hongkong Almanack' for 1846 records the Company as having the office in Queen's Road. (Painting: <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~chaterfamilytree/chinnery.htm>)

"During that first Opium War, the chief of operations for **Russell & Co.** in Canton was Warren Delano, Jr., grandfather of Franklin Roosevelt. He was also the U.S. vice-consul and once wrote home, "The High officers of the [Chinese] Government have not only connived at the trade, but the Governor and other officers of the province have bought the drug and have taken it from the stationed ships in their own Government boats." Wu Ping-chen, or Howqua II, the leading "hong" merchant, was considered by some to be one of the world's richest men, worth over \$26 million in 1833. The profits were huge and many fortunes were made. Warren Delano went home with one, lost it and went back to China to get more. Russell & Co. partners included John Cleve Green, a banker and railroad investor who made large donations to and was a trustee for Princeton; A. Abiel Low, a shipbuilder, merchant and railroad owner who backed Columbia University; and merchants Augustine Heard and Joseph Coolidge. Coolidge's son organized the United Fruit Company, and his grandson Archibald C. Coolidge, was a cofounder of the Council on Foreign Relations. Partner John M. Forbes "dominated the management" of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad, with Charles Perkins as president. Other partners and captains included Joseph Taylor Gilman, William Henry King, John Alsop Griswold, Captain Lovett and Captain J. Prescott. Captain Prescott called on F.T. Bush, Esq., his friend and agent in Hong Kong frequently. Russell & Co. families, relations and friends are well represented in the Order of Skull & Bones. After the first Opium War, the port of Shanghai was opened up, with Russell & Co. as one of its first foreign merchants. In 1841, Russell brought the first steam ship to Chinese waters and continued to develop e transportation routes as long as opium made them profitable. Russell partners were also involved in early railroad ventures in China, together with U.S. railroad magnate E.H. Harriman, whose sons later became very active in Skull & Bones. The second Opium War led to the legalization of opium in China in 1858..." – *Fleshing Out Skull & Bones* by Kris Millegan, p. 155-156

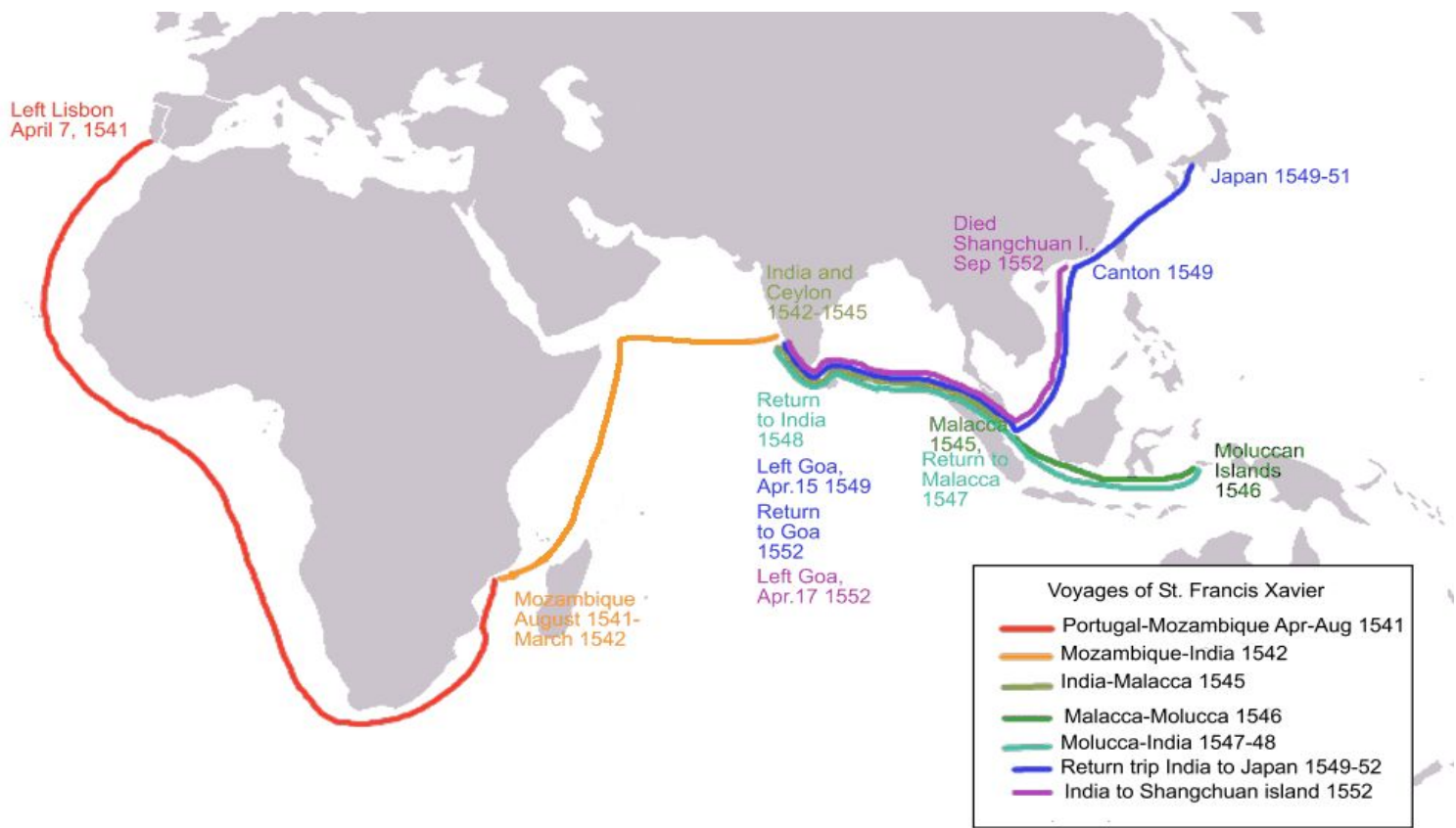
Prelude to the Modernization of Japan: European Intrigues & Japanese Independence



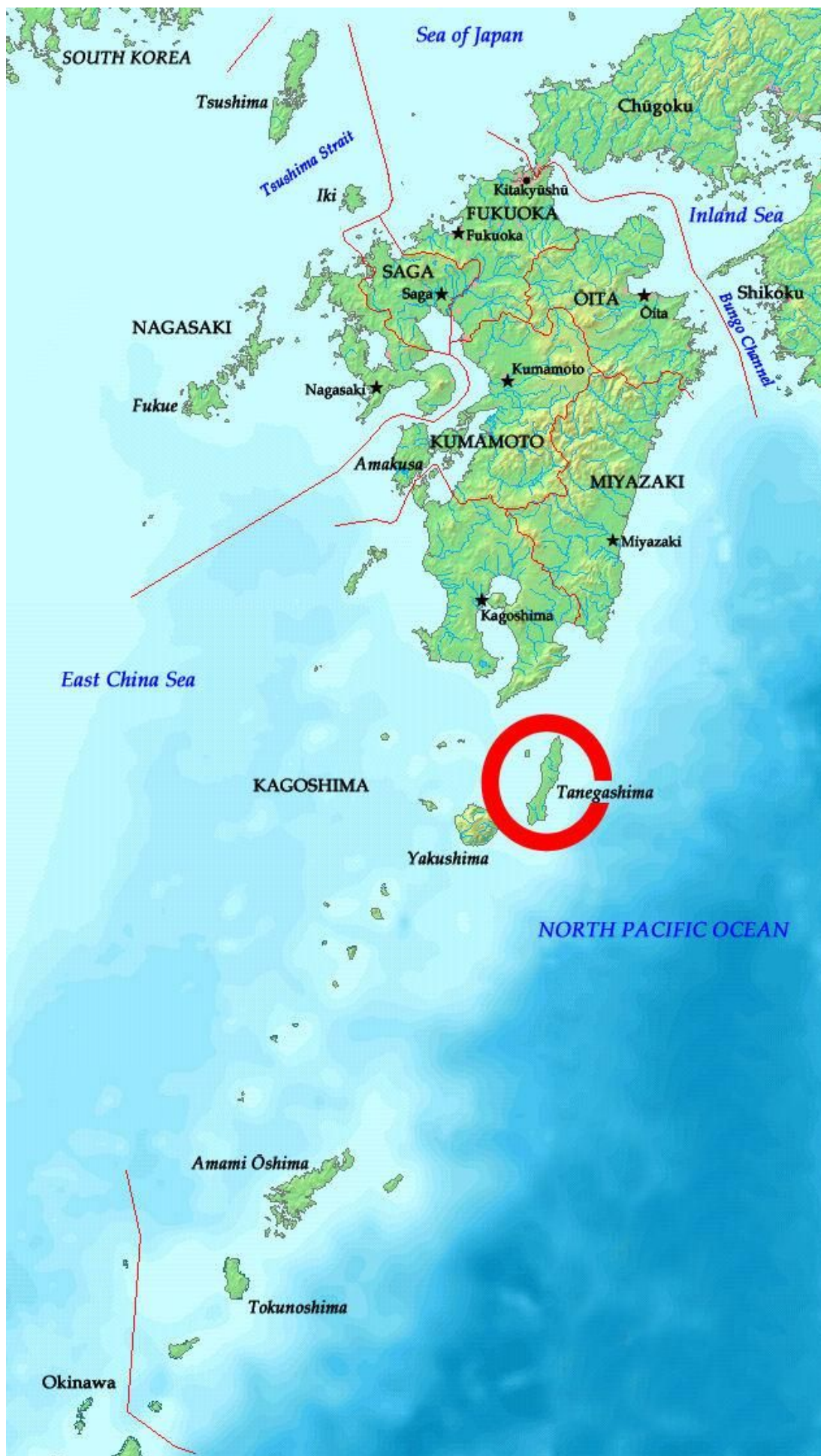
A Japanese *Nanban byōbu* detail depicting a Portuguese carrack arriving at Nagasaki (長崎), Japan in circa 1571. Japanese daimyo Ōmura Sumitada, who converted to Christianity, permitted the establishment of a port with the purpose of harboring Portuguese ships in Nagasaki in 1569; the deal was established in 1571, under the supervision of the Jesuit missionary Gaspar Vilela and Portuguese Captain-Major Tristão Vaz de Veiga, with Ōmura's personal assistance. The city of Nagasaki was a Jesuit colony for a short time during the 1580s; a vast majority of Japanese people living in Nagasaki in the 1580s were Catholics. The Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, and English merchants traded with Japan at the port of Nagasaki from the 1580s until the 1630s, when Japan restricted its trade to Dutch and Chinese merchants. Portuguese and Dutch merchants introduced new products to Japan, including rifles, bread, tempura (fried seafood), eyeglasses, and telescopes.



Left: Jesuit co-founder Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552) introduced Christianity in Kagoshima, Japan in 1549.
 Right: Japanese warrior Oda Nobunaga (織田 信長, 1534-1582) began a military campaign to unify Japan during the late 1500s and embraced early modernization of Japan, including the use of rifles that were introduced initially by Portuguese merchants.



The voyages of Spanish-born Portuguese Jesuit missionary St. Francis Xavier



Map of Kyushu, including the islands of Tanegashima and Tsushima and the cities of Nagasaki and Kagoshima



Left: A group of Portuguese *Nanban* [barbarian] merchants visit Japan during the late 1600s.

Right: Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, c.1537-1598) was the Imperial Regent of Japan from 1585 to 1591 and, along with Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa Ieyasu, was one of the three leaders who unified Japan.

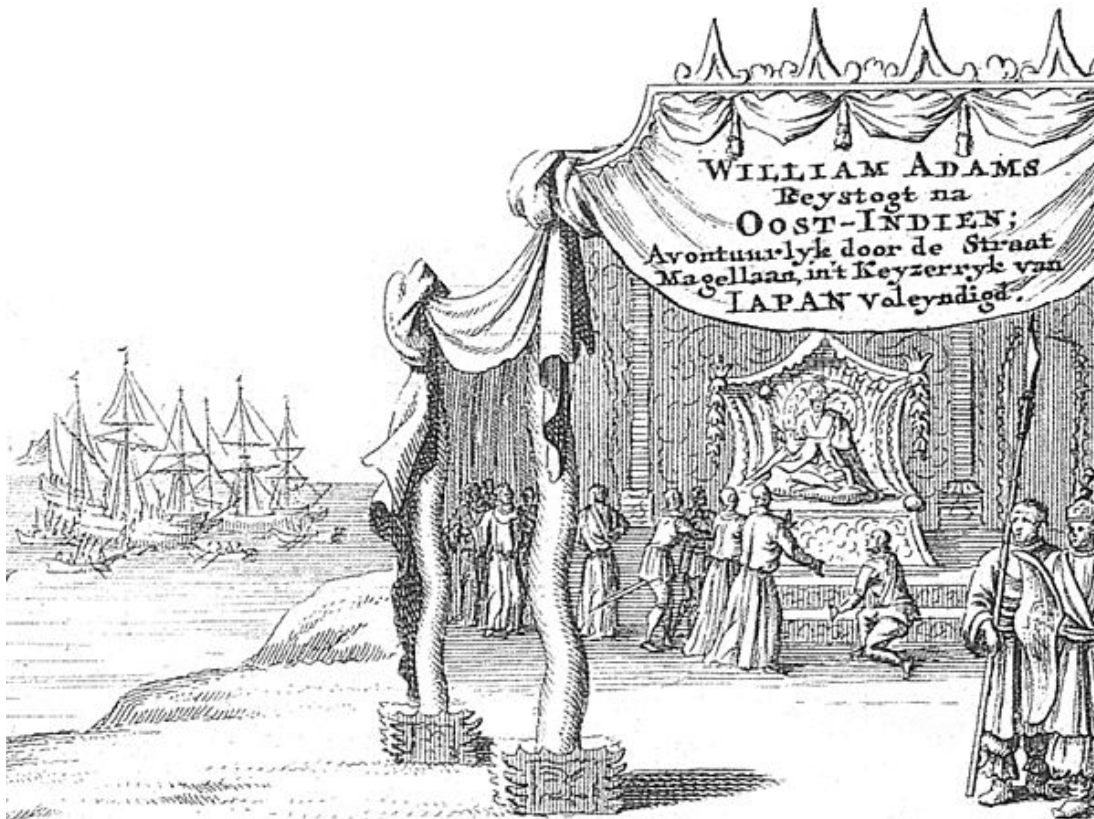


Nanban [European barbarian] ships arrive for trade in Japan, as depicted in a 16th century painting.

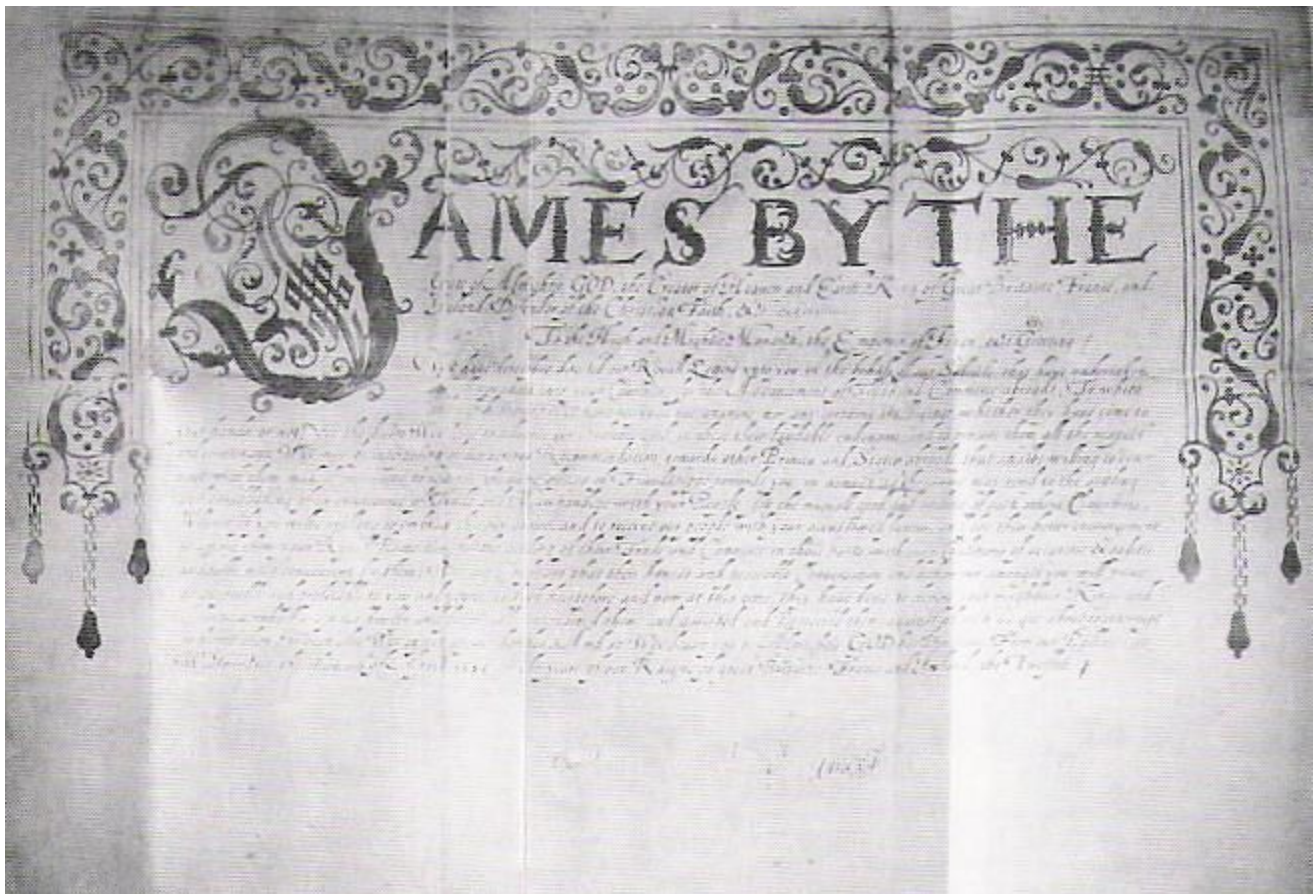


Left: The Dutch East India Company (VOC) trading factory in Hirado, Japan was much larger than the English factory. The English factory at Hirado was closed in 1623 due to a lack of profits.

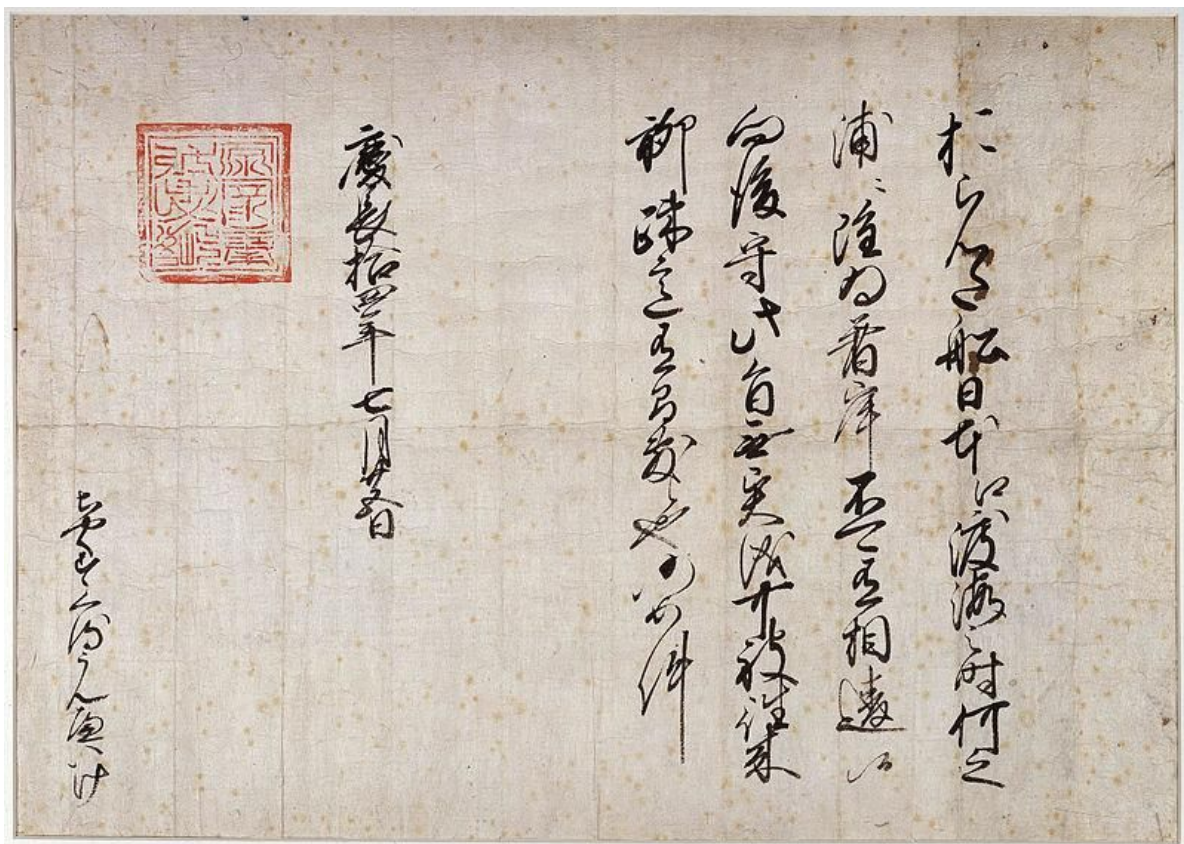
Right: Hirado Castle in Hirado, Japan.



English merchant William Adams (1564–1620), the first English and European samurai, meets with Tokugawa Ieyasu in Osaka, Japan in May-June 1600. William Adams and his surviving crew were detained at Osaka Castle after they anchored their ship *Liefde* off Hirado Island (near Kyushu island) in April 1600. William Adams, whose Japanese name was Miura Anjin, served as an economic advisor to Tokugawa Ieyasu, assisted Tokugawa Ieyasu in helping build Japan its first Western-built ship, worked in the English factory at Hirado, traveled to Siam [Thailand] on a trade expedition in 1615, lived in present-day Yokosuka, Japan, and raised two children with his Japanese wife. Adams died in Hirado on May 16, 1620.



The 1613 letter of King James I of England remitted to Tokugawa Ieyasu (Preserved in the Tokyo University archives)



The “trade pass” (Dutch: *handelspas*) issued in the name of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The text commands: “Dutch ships are allowed to travel to Japan, and they can disembark on any coast, without any reserve. From now on this regulation must be observed, and the Dutch left free to sail where they want throughout Japan. No offenses to them will be allowed, such as on previous occasions” – dated August 24, 1609.



A map of Kyushu island, Japan. Hirado is located north-northwest of Nagasaki. Shimabara, the site of the Shimabara Rebellion is located to the east of Nagasaki and west of Kumamoto.

Timeline of Japan before and after the Establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate

- 1543: Portuguese traders landed on Tanegashima, Japan, an offshore island located near Nagasaki.
- August 15, 1549: Saint Francis Xavier arrives in Kagoshima, Japan from Goa, India to promote Christianity in Japan.
- 1550: Portuguese ships visit Hirado, Japan.
- 1561: Following the murder of foreigners in the area of the Hirado clan, Portuguese begin to look for other ports to trade.
- 1570: Christian daimyo Ōmura Sumitada make a deal with the Portuguese to develop Nagasaki; six town blocks are built.
- 1571: Nagasaki Harbor is opened for trade, and the first Portuguese ships enter Nagasaki.
- 1580: Omura Sumitada cedes jurisdiction over Nagasaki and Mogi to the Society of Jesus (also known as the Jesuits).
- 1588: Toyotomi Hideyoshi exerts direct control over Nagasaki, Mogi, and Urakami from the Jesuits.
- 1592-1598: Japan wages war on Korea and China
- February 5, 1597 – The “26 Martyrs of Japan” Incident; 26 Christians are crucified in Nagasaki, Japan.
- October 21, 1600: The Tokugawa Shogunate defeats rival warlords at Battle of Sekigahara
- 1603: Japanese shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu establishes his rule over Japan from his headquarters in Edo (present-day Tokyo)
- 1609: The Dutch East India Company opens a factory in Hirado. It closes in 1623.
- 1612: Japan's feudal government decrees that Christian proselytizing on Bakufu lands is forbidden.
- 1616: All trade with foreigners except that with China is confined to Hirado and Nagasaki.
- 1634: The construction of Dejima begins; Dejima was an offshore island located next to Nagasaki.
- 1635: The Tokugawa Shogunate enforces “Sakoku Edict of 1635”, restricting foreign trade and travel.
- 1636: Dejima is completed; the Portuguese are interned on Dejima (Fourth National Isolation Edict).
- 1637-1638: Japanese Christian peasants engage in uprising against the Tokugawa Shogunate during the Shimabara Rebellion.
- 1639: Portuguese ships are prohibited from entering Japan. Consequently, the Portuguese are banished from Dejima.
- 1641: The Dutch East India Company on Hirado is moved to Nagasaki.
- 1673: The English ship "Return" enters Nagasaki, but the Shogunate refuses its request for trade.
- 1678: A bridge connecting Dejima with the shore is replaced with a stone bridge.



Flag of the Dutch East India Company (also known by its acronym VOC)

Dutch-Japanese Relations

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I FIRST CONTACT

One fine June afternoon in 1598, five ships in Rotterdam ready their departure for a long journey. The crew have been told that their destination will be the Moluccas to buy spices, and to explore the "Silver-rycke" (the Silver Empire) of Japan. But once out on the high seas, the sailors of the five vessels, which are heavily loaded with weaponry, are informed of their additional tasks - to raid and plunder Portuguese and Spanish strongholds along the route in South America and Asia and to wreak damage on their enemies, understandable objectives in those turbulent times.

The journey proved a historic one. The first Dutch ship ever to arrive in Japan was the "Liefde" ("Charity" or "Love"); it was one of the five that originally left Rotterdam on June 27, 1598, and the only one to arrive safely in Japan - on April 19, 1600. "T Gheloove" ("Faith") had turned back for Rotterdam before entering the Straits of Magellan. The other three had been lost; the "Blijde Bootschap" ("Good Message") in fights with the Spaniards, "Trouwe" ("Faithfulness") to the Portuguese and "Hoope" (Hope) to storm.

On April 19, 1600, for the people living in Sashifu, in the Bungo area (nowadays Usuki in Oita Prefecture), the view out to sea was different from normal days, for a ship strangely shaped and rigged lay at anchor. While the initially friendly Japanese helped the completely exhausted Dutch crew (which included at least one Englishman), they succumbed to the very normal temptations of that period to take from the vessel whatever they could remove. The Liefde carried 19 canon, many rifles, fire-arrows and assorted weaponry. Of the originally 110 man crew only 24 had survived the journey. Among them were Jan Joosten van Lodensteyn, who would later be known as Yaesu-san, and the Englishman William Adams, who would be called Miura Anjin in later days. The figure-head of the Liefde, representing Dutch scholar and philosopher Erasmus, can still be seen at the National Museum in Tokyo.

The military ruler of Japan, Tokugawa Ieyasu, showed great interest in the Dutch ship, especially in the firearms it was carrying. Everything was confiscated and Joosten and Adams were ordered to Osaka and then to Edo, the center of power (present-day Tokyo), to be interrogated through a Portuguese interpreter. Their replies luckily proved to the liking of Ieyasu and the survivors were compensated for the losses they suffered in Usuki. Some of them started careers as traders and married local women. Their valuable know-how and understanding of maps, navigation, shipbuilding and warfare made William Adams and Jan Joosten popular with the ruler. It brought them land, money and titles.

Today's Tokyo boasts Anjin-dori (Anjin-street) and the Yaesu Exit of Tokyo station to remind us of the long distant role of these two sailor adventurers. One critically important consequence was that the Dutch received official permission to trade with Japan, though it was to be almost a decade before this started up in earnest. The first Dutch ships after the 'Liefde' arrived in Hirado in 1609.

Tokugawa Ieyasu made use of the arrival of the Dutch for another reason. The ruler had just started his campaign against Christianity due to the over-enthusiastic proselytising of Portuguese Jesuits threatening his authority, and the knowledge of the "red haired barbarians", as the Dutch came to be called, would prove useful. The protestant Dutch, whose first objective was trade and not the propagation of the Christian faith, had arrived and established their credibility just in time. This is how the special relationship between Japan and the Netherlands began.

II THE JAPANESE-DUTCH RELATIONSHIP

The Portuguese had first arrived in Japan in 1543, so contacts between Japan and the Netherlands were not the oldest and longest Japan had enjoyed with a western country. Contacts with Asian countries such as Korea, China and Taiwan naturally went back to much earlier times. However, during the 'sakoku-jidai', the so-called seclusion period, Holland and China were the only countries permitted to trade and have limited contacts with Japan. It was a status which actually lasted over two centuries, from 1641 to 1853, and as the only western country with such privileges, Holland held a very special position. It was the door through which knowledge on science and medicine, and products and armaments from the Netherlands and Europe were imported into Japan through the Dutch settlement on Deshima, the man-made fan-shaped island in the Bay of Nagasaki. Simultaneously the Dutch generated great wealth exporting Japanese products and knowledge to the west. For both sides, Deshima was more than just a window on a new world.

III THE DUTCH TRADING HOUSE IN HIRADO, 1609-1641

The Dutch received a permit to trade from Tokugawa Ieyasu, who in 1603 had bestowed upon himself the title of Shogun. In 1605, when some survivors of the 'Liefde' arrived on a Japanese junk in Pattani in Thailand, this 'trade pass' was conveyed to Captain Matelieff - the uncle of Quaeckernaek, one of the 'Liefde's' survivors. A short time before, in 1602, the Dutch had founded the East Indian Company (VOC), the idea behind this being to unite many smaller trading companies into the one powerful organisation which would make it easier to acquire vessels and dominate the trading world. The VOC can be seen as the world's first shareholder company. Besides trading, the Dutch government authorized the VOC to initiate contacts with foreign 'authorities'. A second trade permit received stated that the Dutch were to be allowed to trade in all Japanese ports and expressed the hope that many Dutch ships would do so. This document is today in the National Archives in the Hague. The Dutch were first able to comply with Tokugawa's hopes in 1609, when two ships formed the first official Dutch VOC delegation to Japan. They arrived in Hirado and after presentation of an official letter from Maurits, Prince of Orange, the Dutch received official permission to open a trading post. This first trading post was founded by Jacques Specx on the island of Hirado on the north-west coast of Kyushu. Hirado was a convenient location for trade with Taiwan and China, but did not overly impress the Dutch because most wealthy merchants lived in nearby Nagasaki.

In the period 1600-1641, the Dutch could move around the country freely and enjoyed unrestricted contact with the Japanese. In Hirado they set up a foundry and built a well. They were impressed by the quality and competence of Japanese craftsmen, who were frequently hired by the Dutch. However, in the early period trade was not profitable due to the limited contacts with other VOC outposts. Furthermore, the Dutch had no trading centre in China and were thus not able to supply the Japanese with silk. This problem was addressed by piracy of heavily loaded Portuguese trading ships. The Portuguese understandably complained and the Japanese government responded by banning piracy in Japanese waters. The threats of interference caused the Shogun to gradually apply a stricter policy in contacts with foreigners, both the Southern Barbarians (Portuguese) and the Red-Haired Barbarians (Dutch). In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu issued a ban on Christianity and evicted missionaries and prominent Japanese Christians from Japan. This ban was strictly enforced and many Japanese Christians were martyred and had to flee or hide. In 1621 Japanese subjects were forbidden to leave the country and board foreign vessels without special passes, and soon afterwards all departures from the country were forbidden. In 1639 the children of foreign fathers and Japanese mothers were forced to leave and the daughter of Dutch head merchant Van Nijenroode of Hirado had to leave for Batavia, present day Jakarta in Indonesia. Such children were not allowed to have contact with the Japanese anymore - a ruling which led to tearful scenes when they had to be parted from their mothers. The Hirado City Museum displays a touching letter of the time written on kimono-silk, the so called Jagatara-bun by Koshioro. After 1657 the Japanese government relaxed the rules somewhat and family news ('onshin') was allowed. Cornelia van Nijenroode wrote 'onshin' to her family in Hirado, which are still preserved in Hirado.

To limit contacts of the Portuguese with the Japanese, the shogunate decided to build a special island for them. Its name was Deshima, and Portuguese resided here from 1636 to 1639, when they were forced out of the country on suspicion of support to the Christian rebels during the Shimabara revolt. The Dutch had unsuccessfully fought on the Shogun's side, and had stressed several times that they could provide the Japanese with all the goods that the Portuguese had previously supplied. "Rain on the Portuguese means drizzles on the Dutch" was a Dutch saying of the time. With Deshima vacant, the shogunate found ways to restrict the freedom of movement of the Dutch. In 1640 they finally found a good reason to confine the Dutch to Deshima. Head merchant Francois Caron had two warehouses built of stone to prevent loss by fire - a common threat in those days. Below the roof arch, following European custom, the words 'Anno 1640' were engraved to show the year of completion. Mentioning the Christian date proved an insensitive mistake. The Dutch had to tear the warehouses down and move to Deshima. The Shogun's decree meant the Dutch left Hirado in 1641. From then on for more than 200 years Holland would be the only western country permitted to have contact with Japan and the Japanese.

IV 1641-1853: THE DUTCH IN DESHIMA

Rehousing the Dutch trading post on Deshima had the unexpected effect of expanding the profile of the Dutch rather than restricting it. This fan shaped island in Nagasaki bay measured but 15,000 square meters (approximately 150,000 square feet), about the size of Dam Square in Amsterdam. It meant the Dutch became Japan's window on the world. Western sciences and products were introduced to the Japanese and contacts resulted in so-called 'Rangaku' or Dutch Learning. The most famous teacher is Philip Franz von Siebold, of German origin, who taught many scholars about western science, medicine and other matters of cultural value. Many loan words from the Dutch entered the Japanese language; for instance "biiru" - the Japanese word for beer - was derived from the Dutch word "bier".

In the context of limited contacts between Japanese and foreigners, the Dutch had to live under strict rules. They could not leave without official permission and Deshima was prohibited for women. An exception was made for the public women of Murayama district, who were allowed to stay one night at a time on the island. Permission to leave the island was only granted for official visits to the governor or the Shogun, the so-called "Edo Sanpu" or court journey to Edo. So life was not ideal for the Dutch. Most of the time in a person's year was spent idle. Only the arrival of ships, mostly in the period August to October, was a busy time. The vessels had to be unloaded, cargoes unpacked, repacked, and traded. The ships had to be reloaded with Japanese goods for the rich merchant traders of the VOC. It was the time for stories and messages from home.

At this time government regulations made business less profitable than it had been at the end of the Hirado period, when free trading was allowed. Goods had to be sold at fixed prices decided upon in advance. Maximum prices for import and export goods were set, and goods which remained unsold had to be taken back. But in spite of all these regulations, the VOC still made profits and continued to trade mainly silk for gold, silver, copper and camphor. Also lacquerwork, porcelain and tea were bought and exported to Batavia or Europe.

Contrary to what one might conclude, Deshima was a popular posting among VOC employees. One reason for this was that the Japanese Government, beside the official trade, gave permission for limited personal trading as well, a privilege which provided employees with additional income sometimes reaching levels of more than 20 times their normal annual salary. The "opperhoofd", whose salary was 1200 guilders a year, was recorded as making as much as 30.000 guilders.

For political reasons, both in Japan and Europe, profits and trade on Deshima deteriorated in the 18th century. The Japanese authorities set out new regulations on such affairs as the numbers of ships permitted and the exchange rate between silver and gold - initiatives that restricted profits for the trading Dutch. This was the era of the French Revolution and the loss of the once mighty Dutch command of the seas. Between 1795 and 1813 few VOC vessels managed to reach Deshima as a result of which VOC employees lost income. Opperhoofd Hendrik Doeff became dependent on the kindness of the Japanese for food and clothing. But Doeff did not waste his time. He continued his writing of a Dutch-Japanese dictionary and invested special efforts in maintaining good relations with the Japanese authorities. Doeff kept the Dutch flag flying in Deshima: the only one left in the world.

V LEARNING FROM THE DUTCH: RANGAKU

In the 16th century the "lingua franca" of trading with the Japanese had been Portuguese, and first contacts between the Dutch and the Japanese were conducted through a Portuguese interpreter. After the Portuguese were expelled, the Dutch language gradually took over and the role of translator and interpreter became critically important. Positions were hereditary, with Japanese interpreters for the Dutch becoming known as "Oranda Tsuji". Rarely exceeding 150 in number they were in charge of the administration of trade, diplomacy and cultural exchanges. "Oranda Tsuji" played an important role in the propagation of the western sciences. As the competence of the interpreters improved, so it became clear to the Japanese ruling class that the westerners had exceptional, and valuable, knowledge in many fields.

In 1720, the eighth Shogun, Yoshimune, lifted the ban on western books, except for Christian religious literature, and shortly after scientific books began to be imported into Japan. Study through the Dutch language was called "Rangaku", or Dutch Learning, and scholars such as Sugita Genpaku achieved remarkable results. The "Ontleedkundige Tafelen", a thorough work on anatomy by the German Kulmus, was translated in 1771-1774 as the "Kaitai Shinsho". About the difficulties of translating this work, Sugita Genpaku wrote the "Rangaku Kotohajime" (Beginnings of Dutch Learning). These two books became the basic study materials of many Rangaku schools in Japan. Of these schools the Narutaki Juku, established by Von Siebold in Nagasaki, Shirando in Edo by Otsuki Gentaku and Tekijuku, established by Ogata Koan in Osaka were the most famous. Beside medical science the subjects of astronomy, mathematics, botany, physics and chemistry, geography and military science were actively studied.

Providing the Japanese with information on western sciences proved an important task for the VOC and resulted in many academics being sent to Japan. Caspar Schambergen gave his name to the medical "Kasuparu-Ryu" or Caspar School. Hendrik Doeff edited the "Zufu Haruma", a Dutch-Japanese dictionary based on that of Francois Halma, and he also wrote Japanese poetry. Cock Blomhoff collected Japanese artifacts and household goods. The most famous "Dutch" intellectual export was generally considered to be Philip Franz von Siebold. The German Von Siebold was sent to Japan in 1823 with the mission to acquire as much information about Japan, the people and their culture as possible. Through his thorough knowledge of botany, medical sciences and pharmacy, he became the most revered VOC employee of his time in service of the Japanese and Dutch alike. He was given land near Nagasaki, where he founded the school Narutaki Juku. Here he treated patients, taught medical science and biology, and kept a botanical garden. Through his many contacts with scholars, patients and authorities, he was able to collect vast numbers of artifacts of Japanese life.

Among goods received in exchange for his teaching services, was a kimono with the circular family crest of the Tokugawa Shogun family, and "secret" maps of Japan, normally strictly forbidden to foreigners. He was found out, and banned for life under suspicion of being a spy. Many of his Japanese friends and students had to pay for this acquaintance with their lives. His 1829 eviction became known as the "Siebold Incident". He left his wife and daughter Oine, who eventually became Japan's first female medical doctor. His vast collection of artifacts is now at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.

VI THE COURT JOURNEY

Contacts between the Dutch and Japanese authorities also took place during the annual 'court journey'. Just like regional Japanese leaders, the Dutch Opperhoofd from Deshima had to pay annual tribute to the Shogun in Edo and provide a detailed report on affairs in the outside world, the so-called 'fusetsu gaki'. On this annual epic journey that could take up to three months, the Opperhoofd was usually accompanied by the VOC surgeon and some employees together with the Oranda-Tsuji and civil servants of the Nagasaki authorities -a total of some 150 to 200 persons. The procession with the 'Red Haired Barbarians' attracted many curious onlookers - the trip was known as the 'Edo Sanpu' and completed some 170 times. Partly over land to Shimonoseki in north Kyushu, the mission continued by boat to the Hyogo/Osaka area and then on to Edo via the Tokaido-route.

A poignant reminder of this journey is the grave of Opperhoofd Gijsbrecht Hemmij in the small city of Kakegawa, Shizuoka Prefecture, dated 1798, which was restored with funding from the City of Kakegawa and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 2005.

The visit to the Shogun mandated many special and expensive gifts. Telescopes, medical instruments, medicines, canons, globes, exotic animals such as zebras, camels and monkeys were all examples of gifts presented to the Shogun and other high ranking officials. Scientific books were especially popular. In 1638 a beautiful copper "grand chandelier" with wax candles was presented to alleviate diplomatic tensions. It can still be seen in the Toshogu shrine in Nikko, the mausoleum of Tokugawa Ieyasu. In return the Dutch normally received expensive silk kimonos.

VII IMPACT ON THE ARTS

The presence of the Dutch in Deshima and their passing by while traveling the Edo Sanpu also had a perceptible effect on Japanese artists. Life on Deshima was the theme of many Nagasaki-e, or Nagasaki prints, bought as souvenirs by Japanese tourists visiting Nagasaki. Dutch figures were also painted on porcelain. Paintings and books brought from Holland inspired many local artists. Shiba Kokan painted Dutch landscapes he had never seen himself, perhaps the reason for the presence of mountains in some of his paintings. Kawahara Keiga was the personal assistant to Von Siebold and his paintings give a detailed description of life on Deshima at the beginning of the 19th century.

Wonderful collections of Nagasaki-e, porcelain decorated with Dutch figures and other Dutch-related art can today be seen in the Nagasaki Prefectural Museum, Nagasaki Municipal Museum and the Kobe City Museum.

VIII THE LATE EDO PERIOD

During the 19th century the world's political situation gradually changed. Holland had lost its supremacy of the seas, and the power of America and England was rising. During the opium war (1839-1842) England forced China to open five ports for international trade and to cede Hong Kong. Von Siebold, who after his eviction from Japan had been living and doing research in Holland, advised Dutch King Willem II to inform the Shogun of the war's outcome and to advise him to voluntarily open up Japan to foreign countries. Willem II wrote a "Royal Letter", which was handed over after a parade and ceremony in 1844 to the Nagasaki authorities. Though the Japanese government rejected the advice it was grateful for the friendly gesture.

The Dutch government warned the Shogun once more through Donker Curtius, who was appointed "Opperhoofd" of Deshima especially for this purpose. In 1852 he informed the Shogun that the Americans had plans to open up Japanese ports by force. The Japanese did not take the advice to heart and kept the letter secret- the 1853 arrival of Commodore Perry's "black ships" squadron should not have come as the surprise it was.

IX THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPAN

The arrival of Commander Perry with his fleet in 1853 led to the opening up and modernisation of Japan. In 50 years the country changed from a feudal society to a modern western democracy. The exclusive role of the Dutch ended, though close contacts between the two countries continued. In the beginning the Dutch language continued to be used in official contacts with foreign countries, so the first contacts between the Americans and the Japanese had to be conducted in Dutch. The Japanese quickly understood the changing power balance in the world and in order to catch up with the west, the Japanese government dispatched scholars to America and Europe. Western specialists were invited to Japan to assist in modernising the country. Assistance from the Netherlands was offered in shipbuilding and military science, medicine and pharmacy, and civil engineering.

Soon after the arrival of Commodore Perry, the Shogunate requested Donker Curtius to deliver steamships. The Dutch government presented the naval vessel "Soembing", renamed in Japanese "Kanko Maru". The maritime school of Nagasaki was established for the

handling and the maintenance of the ship and armaments. Commander Fabius of the Dutch navy and his crew, who sailed the ship to Japan, were the first teachers, and Katsu Kaishu one of their students. After evaluating the achievements of the "Kanko Maru", the Japanese government ordered a second ship. Originally named "Japan", it was renamed on its arrival in Japan into "Kanrin Maru" and was later sailed to America by Katsu Kaishu. Aboard the "Japan" were first engineer Hardes and medical doctor Pompe van Meerdervoort. Hardes became the founder of the first ship repair yard and steam engineering factory, out of which world class shipbuilders Mitsubishi would be born. Pompe van Meerdervoort followed in the footsteps of Von Siebold and established the first modern western hospital in Nagasaki. He in his turn was soon afterwards followed by A.F. Bauduin, C.G. Mansvelt, K.W. Gratama and A.C.J. Geerts, who all played a role in the development of a modern medical education system. They are responsible for the founding of the medical faculty at Osaka University. Gratama is revered as the founder of the "seimi kyoku", which was the first chemistry laboratory in Japan. Also a "seimi kyoku" was established in Kyoto and this one was the predecessor of the faculty of chemistry of the Kyoto University. The word "seimi" is directly derived from the Dutch word for chemistry "chemie". Gratama and his students developed the alloy used for coins of the first modern Japanese money.

X DUTCH CIVIL ENGINEERS IN THE MEIJI PERIOD

Perhaps the most visible traces were left by the Dutch civil engineers invited by the Japanese government to assist in addressing the challenges of flooding in mountainous Japan. Dutch civil engineers were also invited to assist in building and developing the country's ports. C.J. van Doorn was the first. He designed an irrigation canal in Fukushima Prefecture, which later earned him a bronze statue of recognition, saved by local people from conversion into bullets in the second world war. At the request of the Japanese government, Van Doorn invited more engineers to join him including Johannes de Rijke, who did not have an academic degree but who had learnt his trade in hard practice, and G.A. Escher, father of artist M.C. Escher, known worldwide for his intriguing drawings. M.C. Escher was said to have been strongly influenced by the ukiyoe prints his father brought home from Japan. Johannes de Rijke turned out to be an excellent choice. He stayed in Japan for more than 30 years and ultimately became Vice Minister -probably the only foreigner ever to reach such high rank. His impressive achievements included riverbank improvements of the Yodogawa river in Osaka Prefecture, and the Kiso Sansen in central Japan - an area in which three rivers with different flows converged and regularly caused heavy flooding. De Rijke used techniques such as groynes, debris barriers and planting trees to reduce run-off erosion even though the absence of mountains in his home country had denied him the experience of building a corrosion dam. He also designed many of Japan's modern ports, including that of Osaka, Nagasaki and Yokohama. In total 12 Dutch civil engineers came to Japan in this period to ensure "dry feet" for the local people.

Besides inviting Dutch specialists to Japan, the Meiji government also sent Japanese scholars to the Netherlands. Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi were sent to Leiden University and also Fukuzawa Yukichi visited Holland for study.

In the period following the opening of Japan, diplomatic contacts were formalised. The first Dutch Consulate was opened in 1859 in Yokohama, followed by a legation in Tokyo and a consulate in Kobe in 1868. Notwithstanding the contacts across many different fields and the long history of mutual cooperation they would unfortunately not stop war from breaking out between the two countries in Indonesia.

XI THE WAR, 1942-1945

World War II was the first and only break in the friendly contacts between Japan and the Netherlands. With the aim of securing raw materials and creating a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Japan invaded Indonesia on 10 January 1942. This then Dutch colony was rich in raw materials from oil and rubber to pepper and spices. After two months of fighting the Royal Netherlands Indian Army capitulated. Some 40,000 Dutch soldiers were taken captive and sent to prisoner of war camps. Many in the civilian community were sent to labour camps all over Japan, some as far away as Hokkaido and Nagasaki, and to mines in North Kyushu.

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia finally led to that country's independence. After the war the Netherlands lost its status as major colonial power, and Japan was occupied by American forces until 1951. Old historical contacts had been upset. The war still exerts influence on the relations between the two countries.

XII PRESENT DAY RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1945 to the present

Ratification of the peace treaty with Japan in 1952 led to the normalisation of relations and renewal of diplomatic ties. But the exclusive and influential role of the Netherlands was now a thing of the past. To most Japanese the Netherlands became just another European country. Economic, cultural and scientific contacts started anew towards the end of the fifties. KLM Royal Dutch Airlines opened regular flights. Philips was instrumental in the success of the Matsushita Electric Industrial Company. Cut flowers increasingly found their way into the hands of the flower-loving Japanese public. In the sixties, cultural contacts grew. The Royal Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra pleased Japanese ears. Exhibitions of works by Van Gogh and Rembrandt attracted many visitors. "Rangaku" was followed by contacts between many universities. It was, however, perhaps a sporting event that put the Netherlands back on the Japanese map. At the 1964 Tokyo Olympics judo was debuting as Olympic Sport, and it was expected that Japanese athletes would make a clean sweep of the gold medals. But that was before Dutchman Anton Geesink defeated Japanese champion Akio Kaminaga in the open-weight class. For the older generation, Geesink is still the best known Dutchman.

In 1983 relations between the two countries received a boost with the opening of the "Holland Village" theme park near Nagasaki. A Dutch windmill was the start. VOC ships, buildings and products followed, attracting many visitors. Gouda cheese and wooden shoes became popular. Dutch children's writer and illustrator Dick Bruna's creation "Nijntje", known to every Dutch person, captured the hearts of many Japanese children as "Miffy-chan". "Holland Village" was such a success that the management decided to expand the project. The result was "Huis ten Bosch", which was opened in 1993. Named after the royal palace in the Hague, "Huis ten Bosch" surpassed "Holland Village" both in scale and content. The idea of "Huis ten Bosch" was not just the creation of a theme park, but a real village in which people could live, work and enjoy their leisure. True scale copies of many famous Dutch buildings include the palace Huis ten Bosch, that serves as a museum. Restaurants serve Dutch and European cuisine, and extensive collections of Dutch art can be admired. Because the Dutch Royal Household did not allow use of the same paintings which could be found in the real palace, young Dutch artist Rob Scholte was invited to design the artwork for the main hall. "Après nous le Deluge" is a beautiful piece of which "Huis ten Bosch" can be proud.

There are not only visible traces, but also many linguistic reminders of our long mutual history. Mostly "handed over" in the sakoku-jidai period, loan words from the Dutch are still used in present day Japanese, many perhaps without the users being conscious of that fact. *Biiru* (beer), *koohi* (coffee), *garasu* (glass), *pisutoru* (pistol), *orugoru* (music box), *otemba* (tomboy) and literally translated words like *byouin* (hospital), *mouchou* (appendix) and *tansan* (carbonic acid) are just a few examples of how Dutch history plays a modest role in everyday Japanese life.

XIII COMMEMORATION OF 400 YEARS OF RELATIONS, 2000

In the year 2000, 400 years of relations were celebrated in Japan and the Netherlands. In both countries committees were established to prepare and execute commemorative events. The Netherlands Embassy and the Netherlands Consulate General in Osaka acted as representatives in Japan of the Dutch "Organisation for the Commemoration of 400 Years of Dutch-Japanese Relations". They worked in close cooperation with the Japanese committee headed by Dr. Taro Nakayama. During the year 2000 more than 400 events took place in Japan. The events, ranging from classical and pop concerts, exhibitions on 17th century art as well as modern industrial design, to trade fairs and symposiums, presented the Netherlands in all its facets. One of the most important events during the commemorative year was the "Holland Week" which started on April 19, 2000, the day the ship "Liefde" arrived in Japan 400 years earlier. During this "Holland Week" the Dutch Crown Prince and a large number of VIPs from the Netherlands visited Usuki in Oita Prefecture, where our shared history began, and then headed for Nagasaki. The group also visited [Huis ten Bosch](#), Hirado, the Kansai area and Tokyo.

In all these cities a wide variety of commemorative events took place, such as the opening of a part of the rebuilt trading post on Deshima (a Dutch settlement in Nagasaki that became Japan's sole window on the western world when Japan isolated itself from the rest of the world), concerts by the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra, the "De Rijke Symposium" on water management, performances by the Netherlands Dance Theater, a visit by 4 vessels of the Royal Netherlands Navy and numerous exhibitions and other events.

In 2008 Japan and the Netherlands commemorated that 150 years had passed since official diplomatic ties between the two countries were forged in 1858. In 2009 we celebrate the fact that 400 years ago formal commercial ties between our two seafaring nations were established. Commemorative events, both in the Netherlands and in Japan, include all facets of the arts, both modern and traditional, as well as economic events and academic exchanges. These two years have seen a string of high level visits, involving many ministers in different fields. In the Netherlands, the formal celebration of the 400 years of bilateral trade took place in August 2009. The Dutch Prime Minister's visit to Japan in October is to be the highlight of our commemorative events held in Japan.

Source: <http://japan.nlembassy.org/you-and-netherlands/dutch-japanese-relations.html>



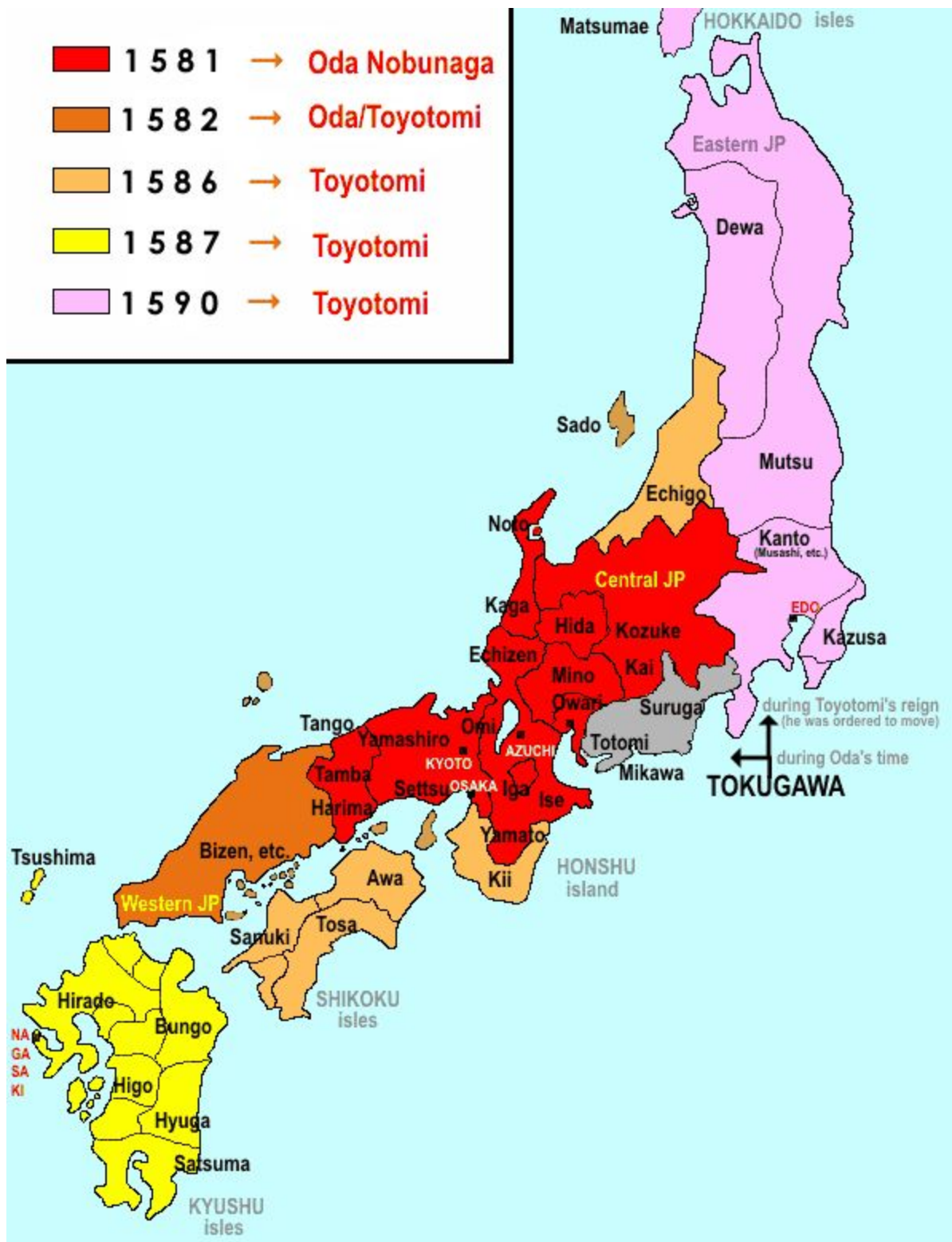
Japanese rulers Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川 家康, left, 1543-1616); Tokugawa Iemitsu (徳川 家光, right, 1604-1651)



The Battle of Sekigahara, fought on October 21, 1600, was the last major battle fought between the samurais; the Tokugawa family consolidated its rule over rival factions and governed a unified Japan beginning in 1603.

List of the Tokugawa Shoguns (Warlords) and their reign

Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1603–1605	Tokugawa Ieshige, 1745–1760
Tokugawa Hidetada, 1605–1623	Tokugawa Ieharu, 1760–1786
Tokugawa Iemitsu, 1623–1651	Tokugawa Ienari, 1787–1837
Tokugawa Ietsuna, 1651–1680	Tokugawa Ieyoshi, 1837–1853
Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, 1680–1709	Tokugawa Iesada, 1853–1858
Tokugawa Ienobu, 1709–1712	Tokugawa Iemochi, 1858–1866
Tokugawa Ietsugu, 1713–1716	Tokugawa Yoshinobu, 1866–1867
Tokugawa Yoshimune, 1716–1745	



Timeline of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's unification of Japan from 1581 to 1590



The Japanese land at Busanjin Fortress in Busan [Pusan], Korea in 1592. Japan invaded Korea on two separate occasions during its war with Korea and China from 1592 to 1598. The Japanese army was forced to evacuate Korea after 1598; the Tokugawa Shogunate unified Japan and established its rule over Japan beginning in 1603.



The Twenty-six Martyrs of Japan (日本二十六聖人 *Nihon Nijūroku Seijin*) Memorial is a memorial that honors a group of Christians who were executed by crucifixion in Nagasaki, Japan on February 5, 1597. Japanese warlord Hideyoshi Toyotomi ordered the execution of Christians in Nagasaki after the Japanese government received messages of a possible Spanish invasion and colonization of Japan the previous year. Their martyrdom was a significant event in the history of Roman Catholicism in Japan.

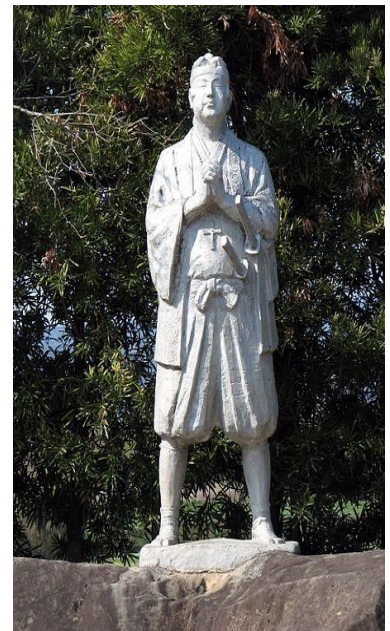


Left: Japanese envoy Rokuemon Hasekura, a Christian convert, chats with Franciscan Luis Sotelo, surrounded by other members of the Japanese embassy, in a fresco showing the glory of Pope Paul V, during Hasekura's visit to Rome in November 1615. Rokuemon Hasekura and his envoys traveled by ship to Rome via Mexico City, Havana, and Seville. (Sala Regia, Quirinal Palace, Rome, 1615)

Right: A statue of Francis Xavier (middle) with his Japanese disciples Yajiro (left) and Bernardo (right) is located in Xavier Park in Kagoshima, Japan.



Shimabara Rebellion: Japanese Christian Tax Revolt? Map of the siege of Hara castle during the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638). A group of Japanese Christian peasants rebelled against the Tokugawa Shogunate over extreme taxation, famine, and religious persecution; a group of Japanese Christian peasants, under the leadership of Amakusa Shirō, captured Hara castle until they were overran by the Tokugawa army in 1638. Several Dutch sailors assisted the Tokugawa Shogunate during the Shimabara Rebellion. The Shimabara More than 37,000 rebels and sympathizers were beheaded after the rebellion ended. The Tokugawa Shogunate expelled Portuguese merchants and missionaries from Japan in 1639 and outlawed Christianity (including the Bible) after the Tokugawa Shogunate accused the Portuguese of attempting to colonize Japan under the pretext of promoting Roman Catholicism.



Left: Rebelling Japanese Christians beheaded the Buddhist statues of Jizō during the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638).

Right: A statue of Japanese Christian warrior and rebel leader Amakusa Shirō is located at the site of Hara Castle in Japan. Amakusa Shirō was a 16-year-old warrior who fought against the Tokugawa Shogunate during the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638) and was beheaded shortly after he was captured.



Dutch merchants chat with Japanese courtesans on Dejima, a Dutch trading post and offshore island located next to Nagasaki, in circa 1800. Japanese scholars, with the approval of the Tokugawa Shogunate, studied European science and medicine alongside Dutch scientists and scholars on the island of Dejima.

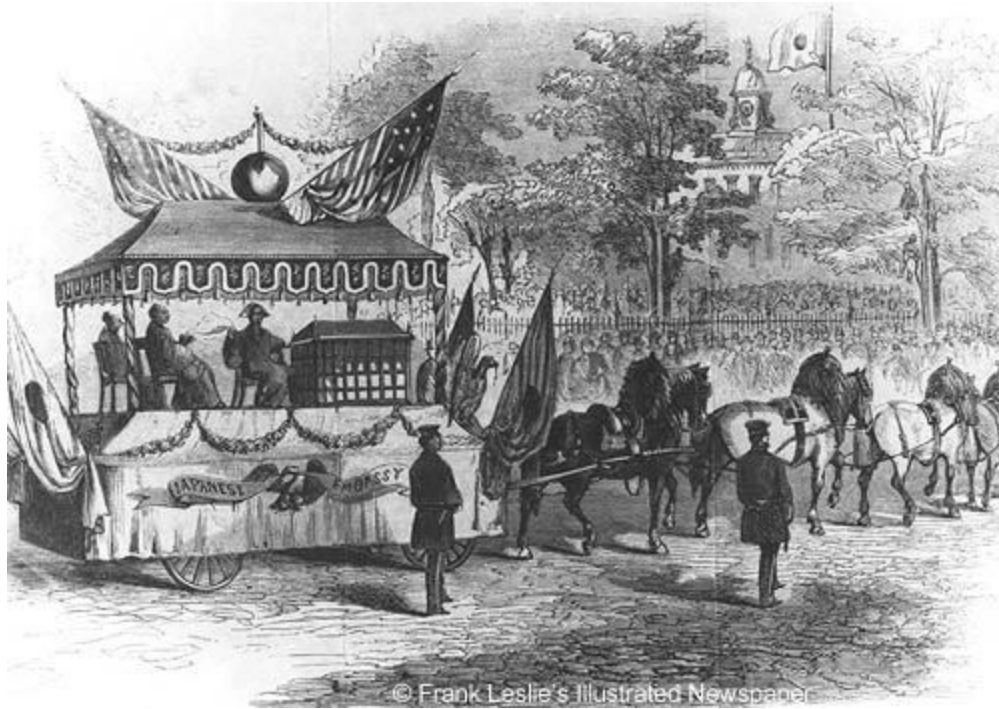


Two Dutch ships and numerous Chinese trading junks are depicted at Dejima and Nagasaki Bay, circa 1820. Dejima today is a neighborhood in Nagasaki. The Tokugawa Shogunate, who ruled Japan from 1603 to 1868, maintained limited trade with the Dutch and Chinese at the port of Dejima [Nagasaki] from 1641 to 1853. The Tokugawa Shogunate implemented the Sakoku Edict of 1635, restricting travel and trade with European “barbarians”. The Sakoku Edict of 1635 prohibited the Japanese people were prohibited from travelling abroad and restricted foreign merchants (Dutch and Chinese) to trading at Dejima.



Nihonbashi district in Edo [Tokyo], Japan. Edo, the primary residence of the Tokugawa family and shogunate, was the largest city in Japan during the 1700s and 1800s. (*Ukiyo-e* by Hiroshige)

The Japanese Tour of America (1860)



The Pagoda Car containing the Japanese treaty box, as it appeared in the procession of the reception in New York, June 16, 1860 (Painting: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)



New York City Mayor Fernando Wood, who previously served as a U.S. Congressman and a Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, and members of the Common Council of New York greet Japanese ambassadors during a reception in the Governor's Room at City Hall in New York City on June 18, 1860. (Painting: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)

Sent by the Tokugawa Shogunate to exchange instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, the group of approximately eighty samurai diplomats arrived in San Francisco on March 29, stopped in Washington DC on May 14 via Panama, then went on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and, finally, to New York. Largely forgotten today, the Japanese mission of 1860 was the first face-to-face cultural exchange between Japanese and everyday Americans and was one of the biggest spectacles of its time. In Manhattan, hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers packed the streets to watch the sword-toting samurai parade on Broadway during its two-week's stay in New York. The great Walt Whitman was on hand and composed a poem in their honor. The city hosted a grand civic ball for 10,000, and members of New York society vied to entertain the visiting Japanese.

(Source: <http://www.ny.us.emb-japan.go.jp/150JapanNY/en/about.html>)



Members of the Embassy



The Principal Ambassadors.
Norimasa Muragaki Masaoki Shinmi Tadamasa Oguri

Members of the Japanese Embassy pose for a portrait during their visit to New York City in 1860.

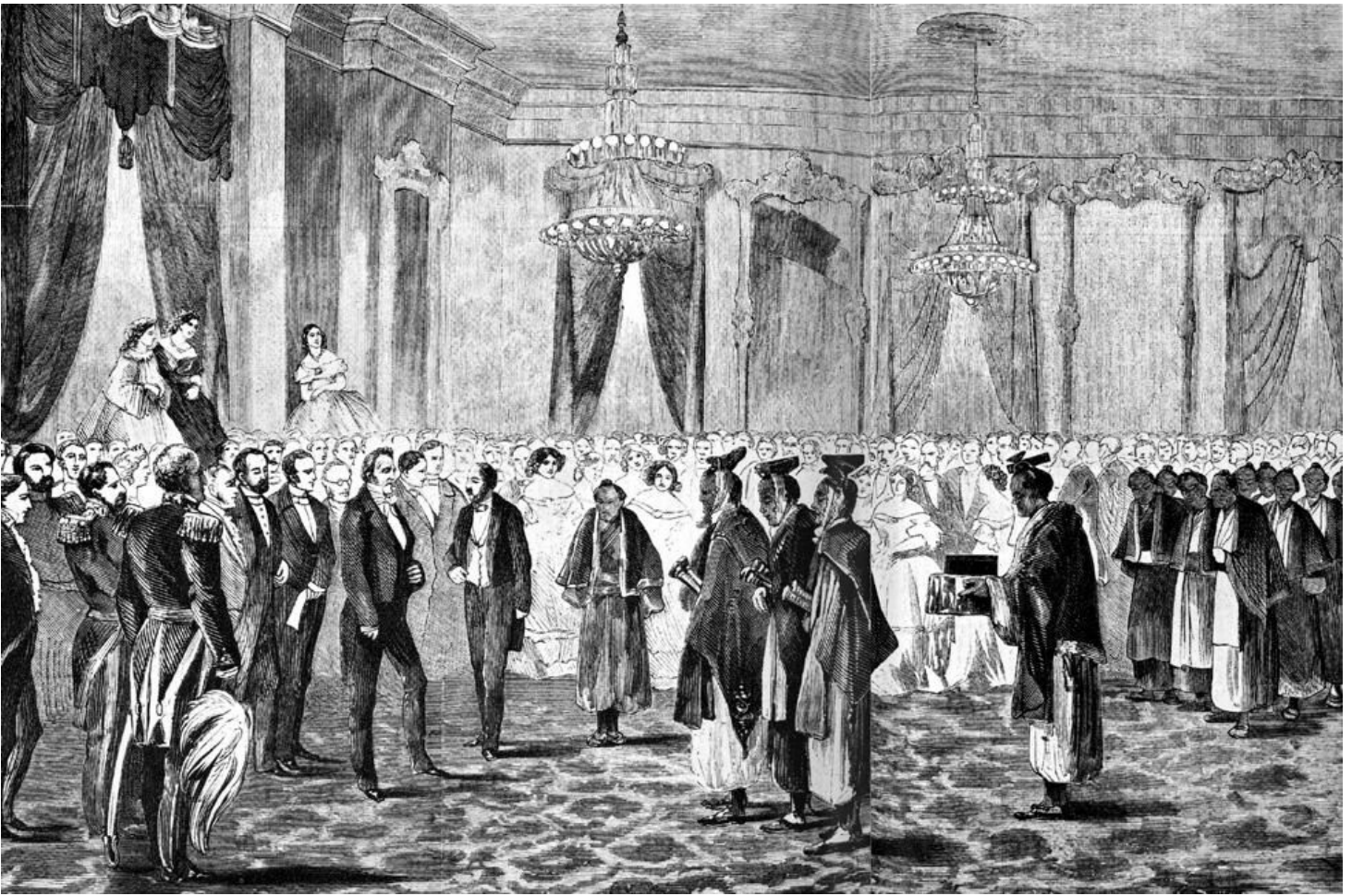
(Source: <http://www.ny.us.emb-japan.go.jp/150JapanNY/en/photo.html>)



U.S. President James Buchanan meets with members of the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C. in 1860.

(Photo Credit: Bettman/CORBIS)





Members of the 1860 Japanese mission to exchange ratifications of the Harris Treaty meet with U.S. President James Buchanan at a gala celebration in the White House in 1860.
May 26, 1860)

Salomon de Rothschild Tours America (1861): Personal Letters of Jewish financier Salomon de Rothschild

The Gentlemen From Japan

New York, June 18, '60.

...Last Monday the Japanese made their triumphal entry into New York. According to the newspapers, such a spectacle will never again be presented to human eyes. The reception of Queen Victoria in Paris and the coronation of Emperor Alexander in Moscow were nothing compared to the American magnificence.

All the windows of houses on the parade route had been rented in advance at exorbitant prices. All stores and public buildings were closed for this national celebration. Even the Stock Exchange was to be idle. The city of New York, with its pretensions of being a metropolis and its feeble claim of being the real capital of the United States, wanted to distinguish itself.

First of all, a police order enjoined the public to behave decorously. At Baltimore the poor Orientals had been robbed. At Philadelphia people shouted at them contemptuously, calling them beggars, monkeys, etc., etc. These gentlemen don't

know much English, but they know enough to understand that they weren't being complimented.

Last Saturday cannon shots announced the landing of the representatives of the Tycoon. To honor them, or rather to exhibit them to the public, they were taken on a five-hour tour of the entire city. All the troops were out, showing again how the National Guard looked before '48. There was one difference, however. Each regiment could choose its own uniform. As a result, there was a Scotch regiment, a French regiment, a Prussian regiment, and so on. The Scotchmen, the Frenchmen, and the Fifth, a native regiment, were the only ones with any semblance of military bearing, but they never managed to keep ranks despite several very comical attempts.





Parade of the Japanese Mission in New York, 1860

The procession went by before us in the following order: first came a four-wheeled cabriolet that carried one of the police chiefs. He had a gold-knobbed cane, and used this instrument to make the crowd move out of the way, and let the wheels of his carriage roll over the feet of those who didn't get back swiftly enough. Then came a squad of policemen on foot, and another squad of mounted police...who paid much more attention to their animals than to the public. Then came the troops, who kept filing by for two hours, with an occasional stop for rest. The people took advantage of this pause to sit down on the sidewalks or to get a drink at a bar. The rich militiamen had a negro at their side to hold their rifles during the moments of rest.

After a long wait, we finally got a glimpse of the principal actors in this grotesque exhibition. The city had really done things in grand style. Each distinguished Japanese had his own carriage. The three ambassadors were each accompanied by a naval officer and rode in four-horse vehicles adorned with the Japanese colors. The coachmen wore round hats, frock coats, waistcoats, trousers *ad libitum*; but to compensate for this, they each wore a magnificent pair of dark canary yellow gloves. It must be admitted that the carriages were a bit old and the coachmen's dress was not beyond reproach.

After the three ambassadors came the box containing the treaty and two high functionaries entrusted with its care; they were not supposed to let it out of their sight for any reason whatsoever. In other cities less opulent than New York, a sufficiently spacious vehicle could not be found to hold the precious box. An omnibus had therefore been chosen, and the case and its guardians were perched on top.



This time there had been constructed a special type of carriage, all covered with colored paper and with Japanese-American streamers. If it had had a large box, it would have made a very presentable traveling theater. A young Japanese boy whom people here call Tommy was sitting triumphantly on the case and making faces at the men who were throwing kisses to the ladies.

Then came the other foreigners of inferior rank, each accompanied by an alderman or a common councilman. (I call them the "common men of the council"). These gentlemen looked a lot like the coachmen who drove their vehicles, the only difference being that they had on their Sunday suits, magnificent grey hats, and the same dark canary yellow gloves of which mention was made above. But inwardly they seemed irritated and ill at ease, though their sufferings seemed compensated for by the effect which they thought they were producing on the crowds round about them. The rest of the militia brought up the rear of the procession.

The Japanese are very ugly---They are shriveled like baked apples and are often heavily pock-marked. Their hair is shaved to a point from the forehead to the crown...Their hands are white, small, and very aristocratic, and their fingernails would make the prettiest Parisienne jealous.

They make enormous purchases here, but always buy objects of very little value, for which they haggle excessively. Several shopkeepers offered them as presents the articles which they admired most. They accepted without the slightest shame, taking

advantage of their privileged position as barbarians to ignore the laws of reciprocity. they have no taste for the arts and prefer a child's toy or a clock worth fifteen francs to a well-wrought piece of silverware...

Every day there are celebrations given in their honor. Monday there is the great ball given by the city, and Tuesday Mrs. Belmont is receiving them...

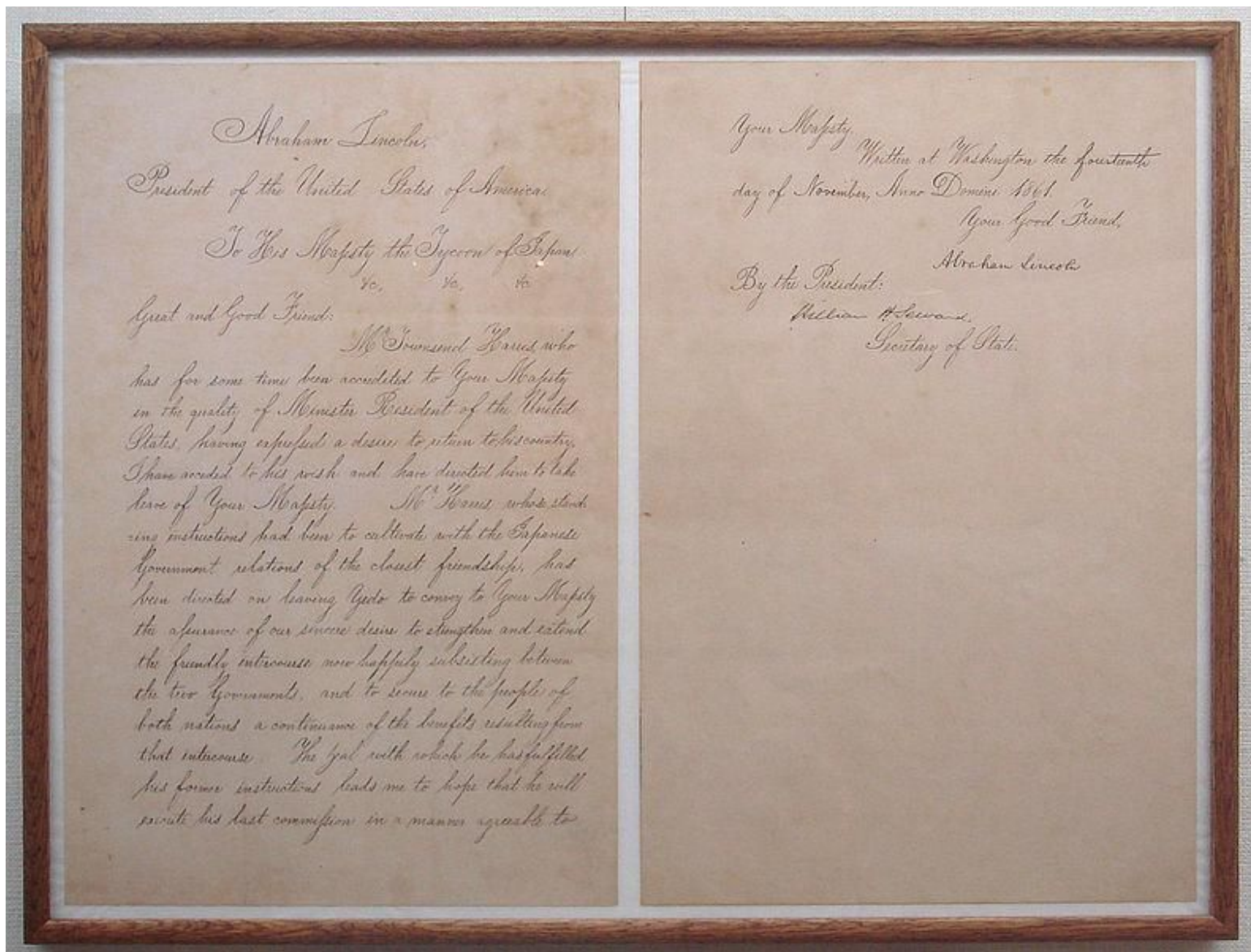
Source: Jewish-American History Foundation; <http://www.jewish-history.com/salomon/salo08.html>

New York, May 1, '60.

...I should like to ask you to come in June, to spend some time in Canada, where the Prince of Wales is expected, and where his arrival will serve as a pretext for very elaborate Canadian and Indian celebrations. The Prince is then scheduled to visit the United States, where there is a great deal of embarrassment as to how to receive him. Since it will be impossible to establish categories and to declare which social class will have the right to entertain the future King of England, just about no one except government officials will be able to receive him, and since these persons usually have only a dubious education, the good Yankees fear, and rightly so, that people will make fun of them.

Right now they are in a dither trying to figure out how to receive properly the Japanese embassy which is going to arrive in Washington, and I can't tell you how amusing the newspapers are with their advice on how to receive these noble barbarians. They want to impress these new guests with American civilization. But since Emperor Tei Ho's representative is scheduled to go to Europe afterwards, they are afraid of a comparison, and don't know what to do, especially since they do not want to untie their purse strings. This Japanese embassy will share the honors of public interest with General Tom Thumb and the Barnum museum...

Source: Jewish-American History Foundation; <http://www.jewish-history.com/salomon/salo04.html>



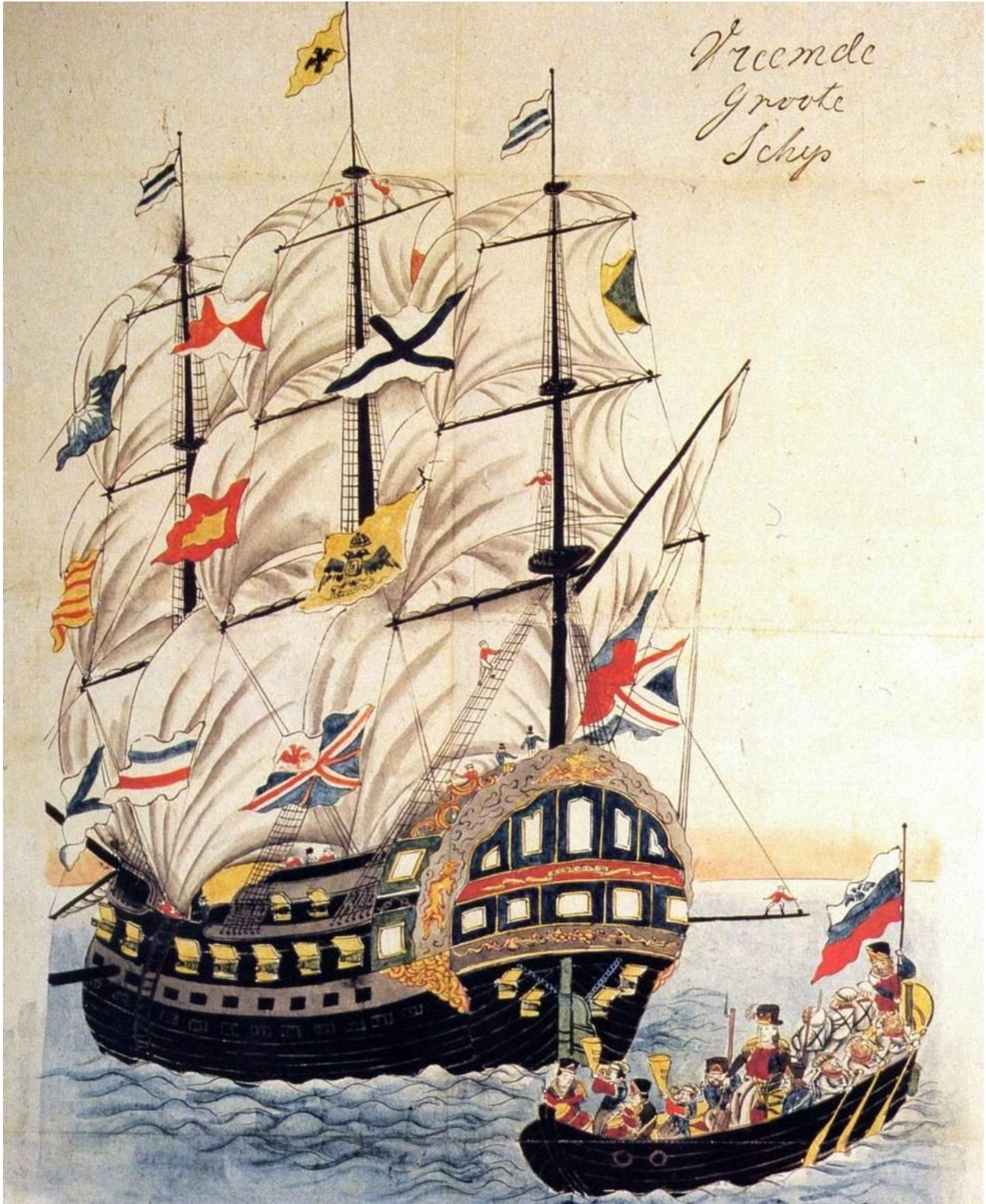
U.S. President Abraham Lincoln's November 14, 1861 letter to the "Tycoon" of Japan (Tokugawa shogunate) announcing the departure of U.S. Minister to Japan Townsend Harris.



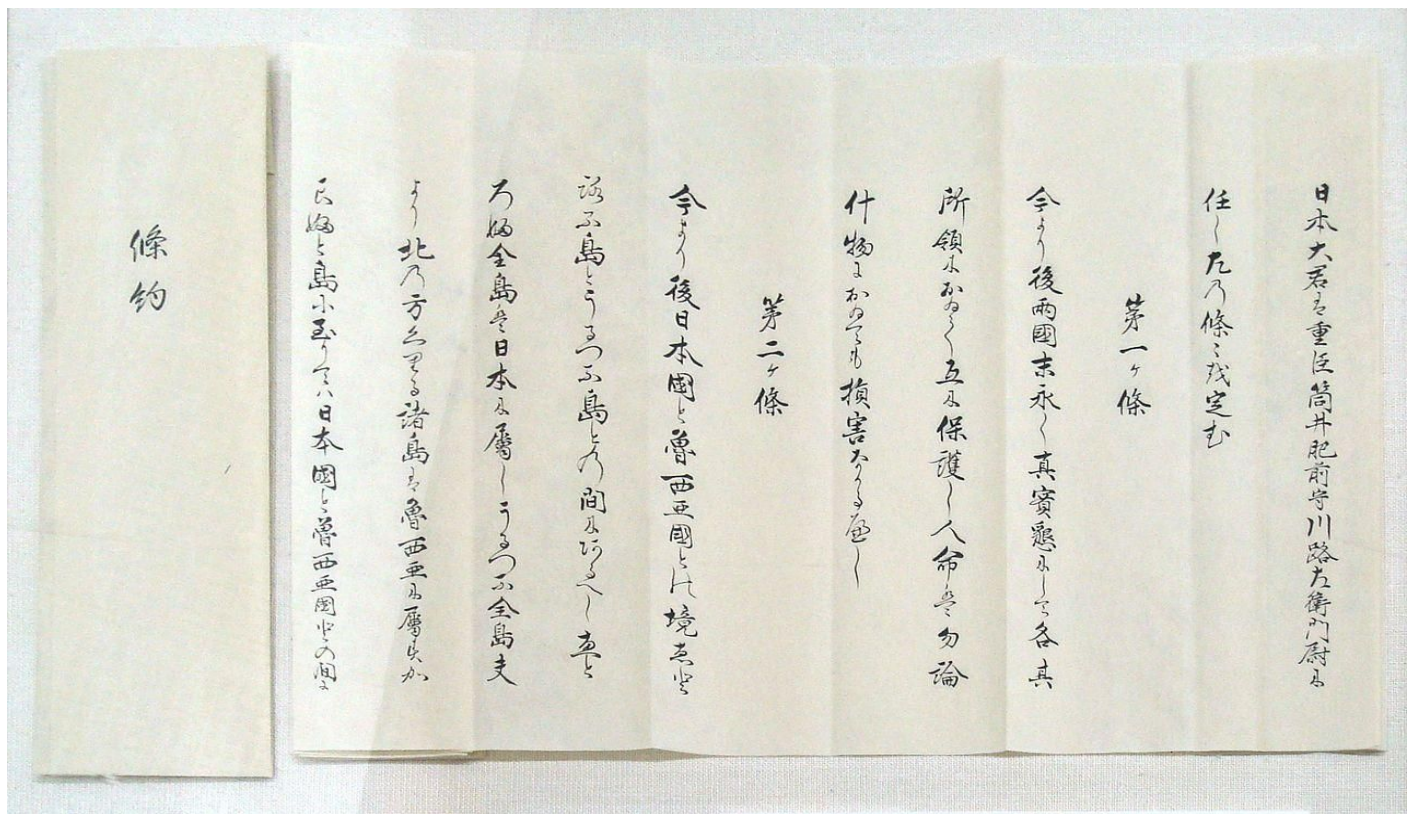
Left: U.S. Legation at Zenpuku-ji Temple in present-day Tokyo, Japan in circa 1861.
Right: Townsend Harris (1804-1878), the first U.S. Minister to Japan

The Fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate

Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians (尊皇攘夷, *Sonnō jōi*)



Russian Vice Admiral Yevfimy Putyatin arrived in Nagasaki on August 12, 1853, just one month after the first visit of U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry. Putyatin made a demonstration of a steam engine on his ship the Pallada, which led to Japan's first manufacture of a steam engine the same year under the direction of Hisashige Tanaka. Russian Vice Admiral Yevfimy Putyatin returned to Japan in October 1854 to continue the negotiations, landing at Shimoda. The negotiations were successfully concluded on January 26, 1855 with the signing of the Treaty of Shimoda.



Russian Vice Admiral Yevfimiy Putyatin negotiated the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Russia, also known as the Treaty of Shimoda, in Shimoda, Japan on 7 February 1855. Russia recognized Japan's sovereignty over the Four Islands – Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan, and Habomai – in 1855. Article V of the Treaty of Shimoda stipulated that trade would be performed through the harbors of Hakodate, Nagasaki, and Shimoda.



A Japanese painting of Russian Vice Admiral Yevfimiy Putyatin in Nagasaki, Japan in 1853.



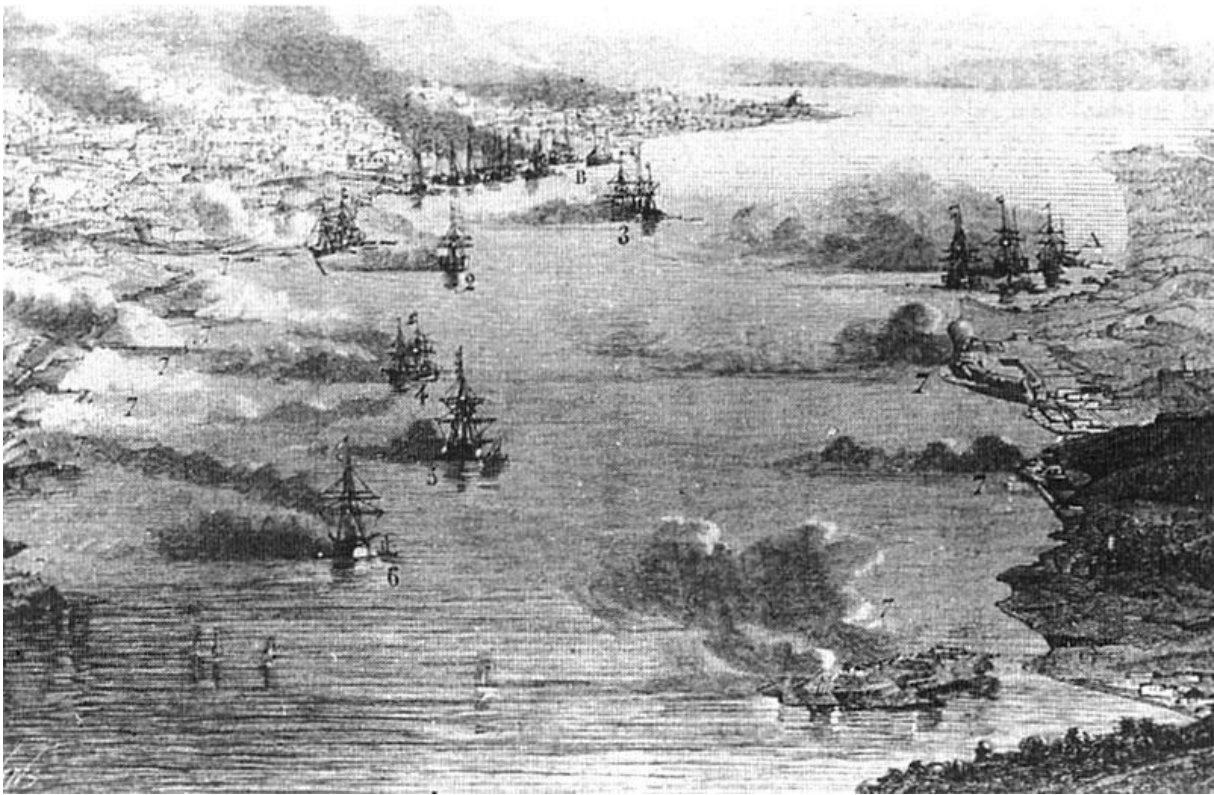
The **Tsushima Incident** occurred in 1861 when the Russians attempted to establish a year-round anchorage on the coast of the island of Tsushima, a Japanese island located between Kyushu and Korea. On March 13, 1861, the Russian corvette *Posadnik*, captained by Nicolai Birilev, arrived in Tsushima island in the inlet of Ozaki, and the Russian captain demanding landing rights. On 13 May 1861, the Russians sent a launch to explore the eastern coast of the island, despite the presence of two Saga Domain warships, the Kankō Maru and the Denryū Maru, as well as one British warship. On May 21, 1861, a clash took place between the Russian sailors of a launch and a group of samurai and farmers, in which one farmer was killed and one samurai, who soon committed suicide, was captured by the Russians. In mid-July, Foreign Magistrate Muragaki Narimasa went directly to the Russian Consulate in Hakodate, demanding the departure of the ship to the Russian Consul Goshkevitch. The Japanese asked the British to intervene, as they also had an interest in preventing the Russians from extending their influence in Asia. Admiral Hope arrived in Tsushima with two warships on 28 August 1861, and on 19 September 1861 the *Posadnik* finally had to leave Tsushima. Russia acquired Chinese territory south of Amur River, including present-day Vladivostok, from China in 1860.



The Namamugi Incident (生麦事件, Namamugi-jiken) (also known as the Kanagawa Incident or Richardson Affair), was an affair involving a samurai assault on four British merchants near Kanagawa on September 14, 1862. The samurai assaulted four British merchants, who were touring Japan on horseback, after they disrespected the father of the daimyo of Satsuma. A samurai killed British merchant Charles Lennox Richardson during the incident; the tragic incident resulted in the August 1863 bombardment of Kagoshima. British merchant Charles Lennox Richardson, who was killed at the scene, is at the center of the scene; British nationals had Extraterritoriality under Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty and were exempt from respecting and honoring the samurais and daimyos.



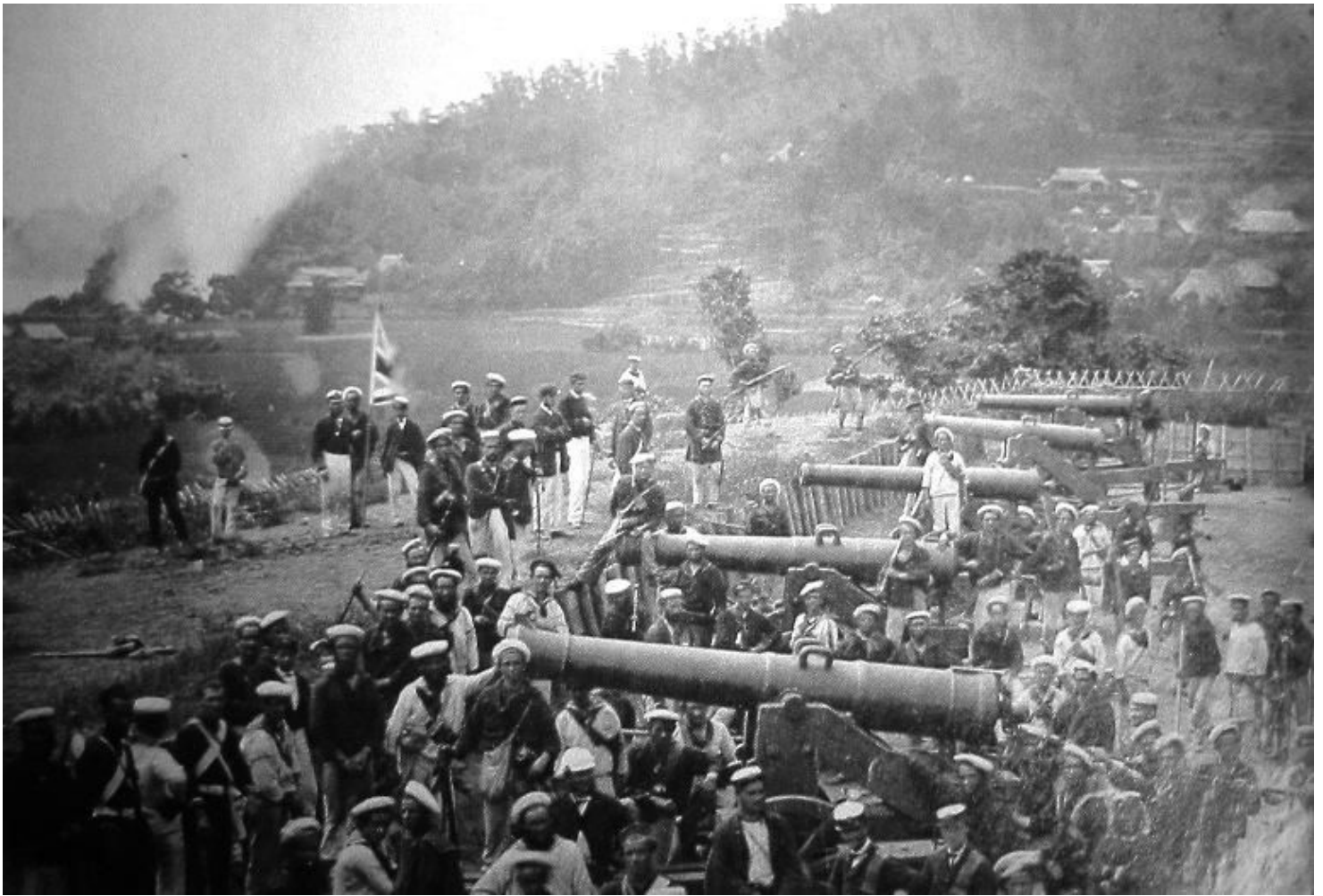
Initial settlement between the Bakufu [Japan] and European Powers, on board the French Navy warship *Sémiramis* on July 2, 1863. Center: Saikai Hida-No-Kami Daimyo (vice-minister), on his left Duchesne de Bellecourt, French Minister in Japan, on his right, Lt.-Colonel Neale, representative of Great Britain, Admiral Jaurès and Admiral Kuper of the Royal Navy. The Japanese government [Tokugawa Shogunate] was ordered to pay reparations following the Namamugi Incident.



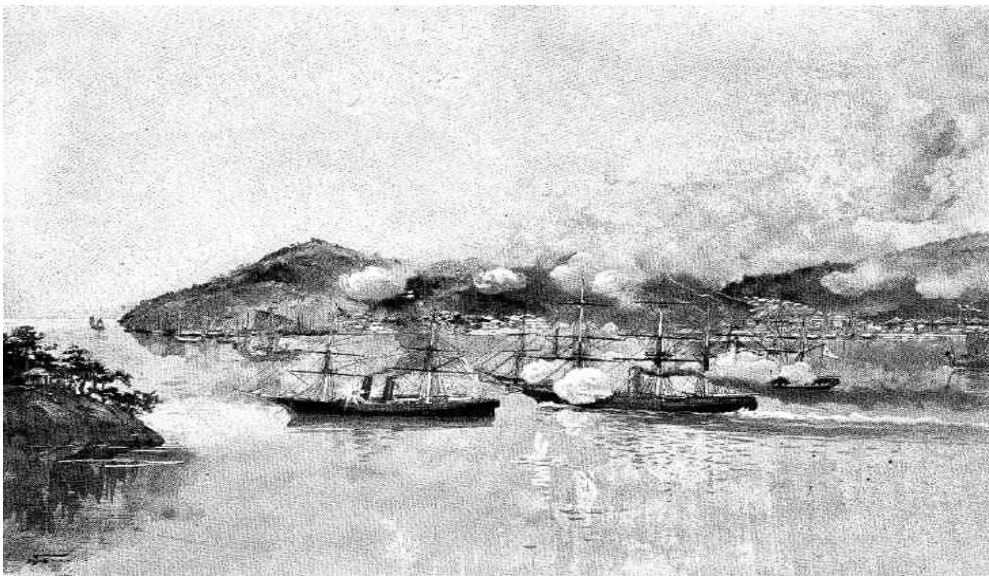
Bird's-eye view of the bombardment of Kagoshima, Japan by the British Royal Navy on August 15, 1863. The Bombardment of Kagoshima, also known as the Anglo-Satsuma War (薩英戦争 *Satsu-Ei Sensō*), occurred on 15-17 August 1863. Kagoshima was the capital of the Satsuma domain. (Le Monde Illustré)



The British envoys prepare to receive a payment of reparations by Satsuma clan in Japan in 1863. The British navy assisted Japan in forcing the Russian navy to evacuate Tsushima Island during the Tsushima Incident in 1861; the Russian navy attempted to establish a navy base on Tsushima Island in 1861. (Illustrated London News, 1863)



British Army soldiers pose for a portrait shortly after capturing a Choshu battery at Shimonoseki, Japan during the Battle of Shimonoseki in 1864. Shimonoseki is a small Japanese town located on the island of Honshu next to Kanmon Straits, a waterway separating Honshu from Kyushu. The European colonial powers led by Great Britain and France waged war against Japan [Tokugawa Shogunate] over Japan's expulsion of foreigners. (Album silver print by Felice Beato, 1864)



Left: American Navy sailors of the USS *Wyoming* battles against the Japanese Choshu steam warships *Daniel Webster*, *Lanrick* and *Lancefield* during the Battle of Shimonoseki Straits near Shimonseki, Japan on July 14-16, 1863. (The Battle of Gettysburg occurred from July 1-3, 1863.)



Right: U.S. Navy officer (later Rear Admiral) David McDougal was the captain of *USS Wyoming* in July 1863 during the Battle of Shimonoseki Straits in Japan.



The rebellion at the Hamaguri Gate (蛤御門の変 *Hamagurigomon no Hen*, also 禁門の変 *Kinmon no Hen*) of the Imperial Palace in Kyōto on August 20, 1864



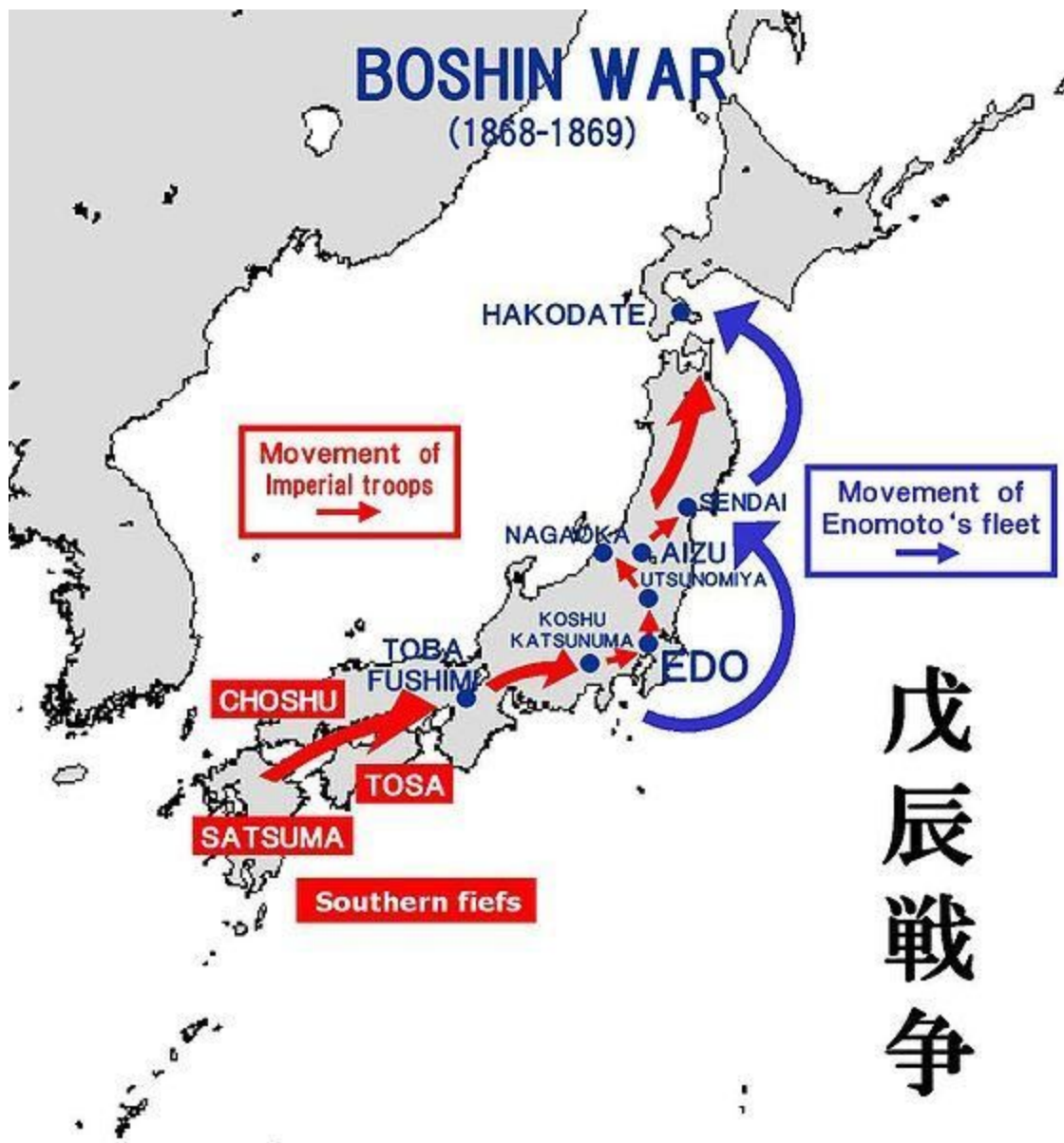
Mito rebels under the "Sonnō Jōi" banner, battles the Shogunal army in Tsukuba, Japan in 1864-1865.



Samurai in Western clothing in 1866 (Illustrated London News)



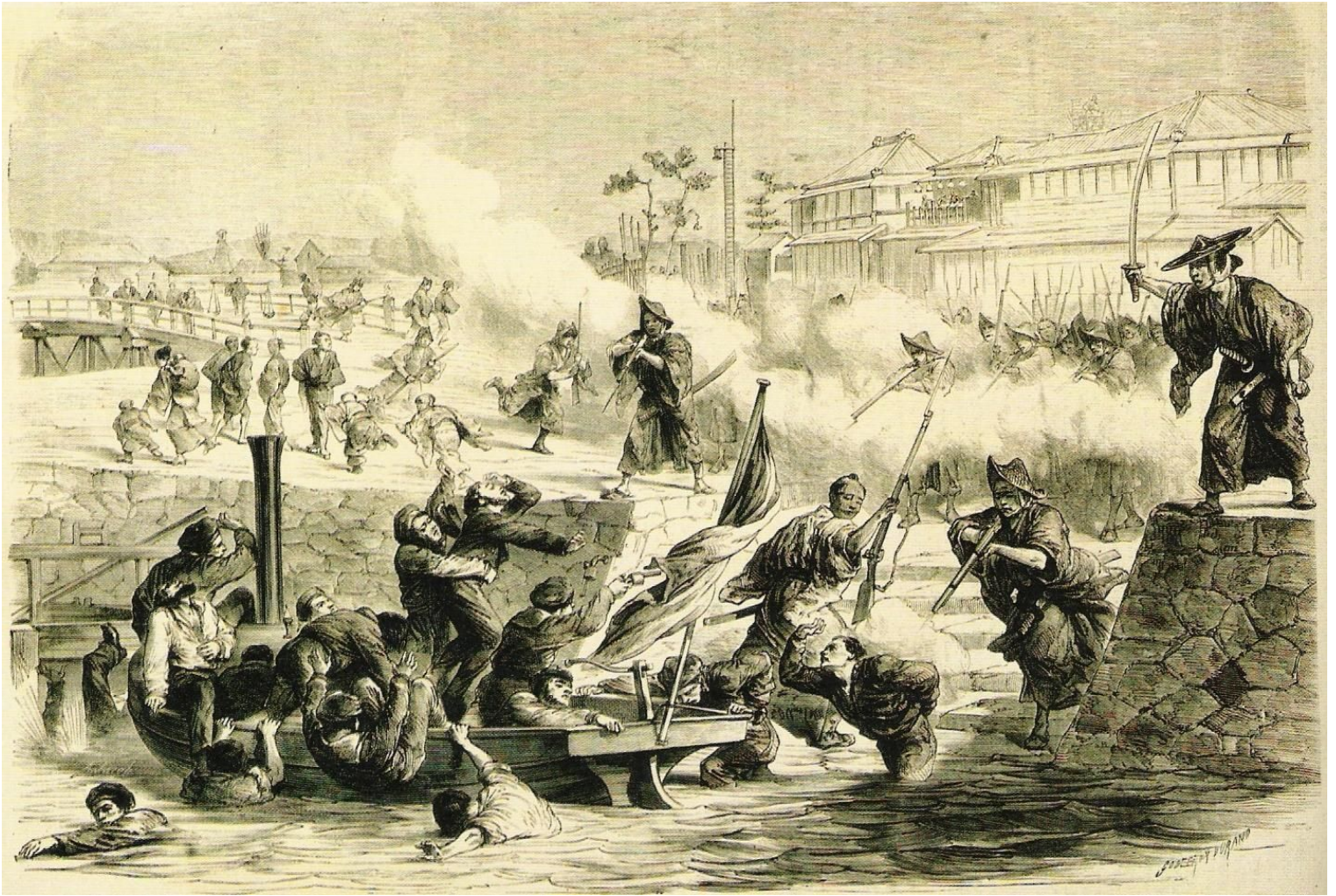
The Nagasaki Naval Training Center, in Nagasaki, Japan during the late 1850s; the Dutch consulate in Nagasaki (right, the Dutch flag flying atop a flag pole) is located on the island of Dejima



Campaign map of the Boshin War (1868-1869). The Southern domains of Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa (in red) joined forces to defeat the Shogunate forces at Toba-Fushimi, and then progressively took control of the rest of Japan until the final stand-off in the northern island of Hokkaidō. The Boshin War (戊辰戦争, *Boshin Sensō*, “War of the Year of the Dragon”) was a civil war in Japan that was fought from January 1868 to May 1869 primarily between the ruling Tokugawa shogunate and supporters of the Emperor, including the Satsuma and Choshu clans.



Yoshinobu Tokugawa (徳川慶喜, October 28, 1837–November 22, 1913), the final Shogun of Edo (August 29, 1866–November 19, 1867)



Japanese citizens kill 11 French sailors at the port of Sakai during the Sakai Incident near Osaka, Japan on March 8, 1868.
(Painting: *Le Monde Illustré*, 1868)



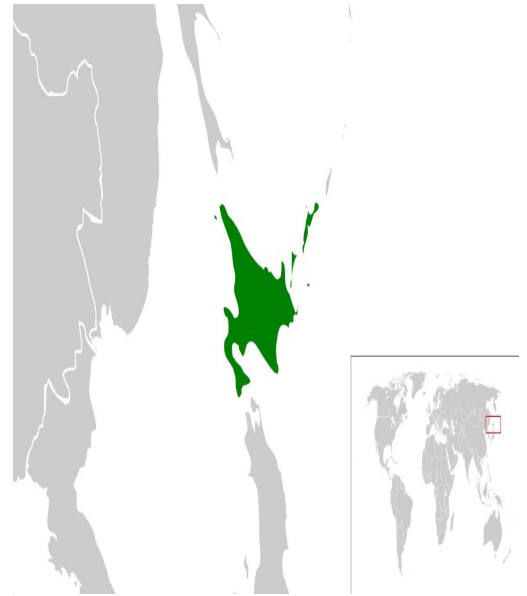
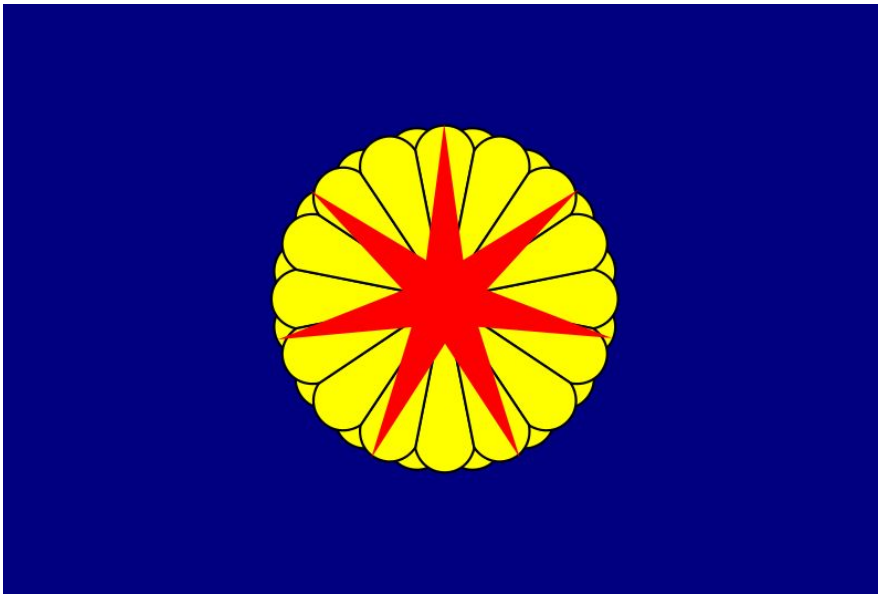
Training of Japanese Bakufu [Tokugawa] troops by the French Military Mission to Japan in 1867-1868.



Destruction of the Palace of Satsuma by Tokugawa shogunates in Edo [Tokyo], Japan on January 19, 1868.



Attack on the delegation of Sir Harry Smith Parkes to the Meiji Emperor in February 1868.
(Source: "Le Monde Illustré", June 13, 1868)



The Tokugawa warlords, with the assistance of French military advisors, established a secessionist republic known as the Republic of Ezo (蝦夷共和国, *Ezo Kyōwakoku*), on the island of Hokkaido on December 15, 1868. The Tokugawa warlords in charge of the Republic of Ezo surrendered to the Imperial Japanese government on May 17, 1869; the Republic of Ezo was formally disbanded on June 27, 1869. The city of Hakodate was the capital of the Republic of Ezo.



The French military advisors and their Japanese allies. Front row, second from left: Jules Brunet, beside Matsudaira Taro, Vice President of the Ezo Republic



Leaders of the Republic of Ezo in 1869, with the President Enomoto Takeaki seated in the front row on the right.



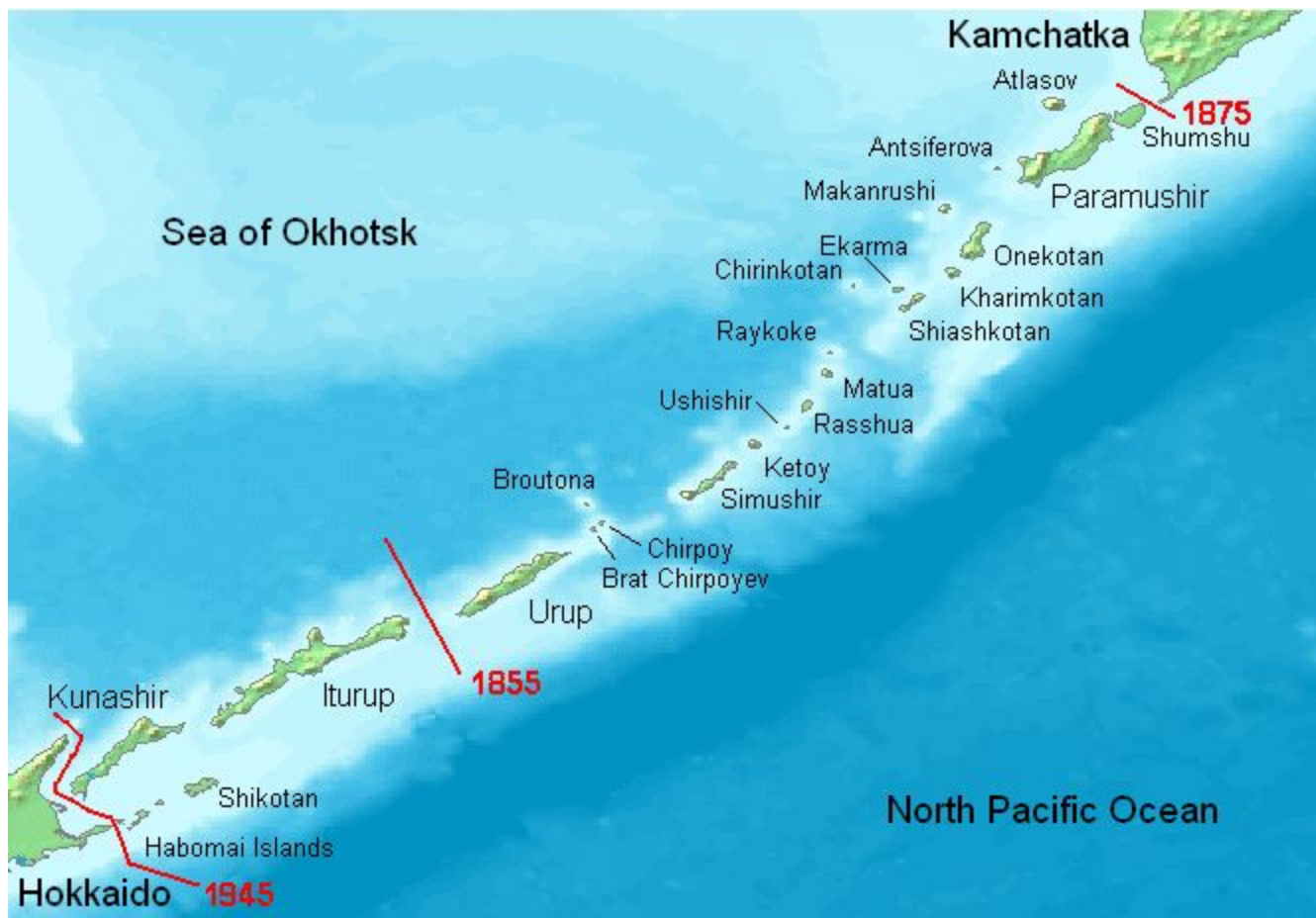
The governmental hall of the Republic of Ezo, inside the fortress of Goryōkaku at Hakodate



The newly formed Imperial Japanese Navy wages a battle against remnants of the Tokugawa shogunate navy of the Republic of Ezo from May 4-10, 1869 during the **Naval Battle of Hakodate Bay** (函館湾海戦 *Hakodatewan Kaisen*) in Hakodate, Hokkaido, Japan during the final stages of the Boshin War.



Admiral Takeaki Enomoto (榎本 武揚, 1836-1908), who once served as the only President of the Republic of Ezo (1868-1869), imprisoned for treason (for establishing a secessionist republic, collaborating with the French military, and maintaining political allegiance to the Tokugawa regime) and later pardoned, was a career bureaucrat in the Meiji government. Enomoto was a Navy Minister (1880), Minister of Communications (1885-1888), Minister of Agriculture and Commerce (1888, 1894-1897), Minister of Education (1889-1890), and Foreign Minister (1891-1892). Takeaki Enomoto studied in Europe from 1862 to 1867 and was a high-ranking naval officer in the Japanese Navy under the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868. Following the surrender of Edo (Tokyo) to the Meiji government in 1868, Enomoto and his Tokugawa-established Japanese Navy evacuated to Hakodate and established a secessionist republic in an attempt to avoid recognizing the newly-established Meiji government located in Tokyo.



The Kuril Islands overview map with current Russian names (English transliteration). Borders of Shimoda Treaty (1855) and Treaty of St. Petersburg (1875) shown in red. All islands northeast of Hokkaido are currently administered by Russia, including Kunashir (Kunashiri), Habomai, Shikotan, and Iturup (Etorofu).

“In the 1870s, a generation before the crowds shouted their approval of Japan’s wartime victories, the Meiji leaders labored to restructure the country’s traditional relationships with its neighbors in Asia. The West no longer would tolerate Japan’s customary practice of restricting contacts with foreign nations, and in the view of men like Ito Hirobumi and Yamagata Aritomo, there was a small and relatively powerless country that had to comply with Western diplomatic norms. Those new criteria required nations to clarify their borders so that they could be drawn precisely on maps, sign formal treaties with other sovereign members of the international community, and exchange diplomatic representatives to manage relationships and solve unforeseen problems that might arise in the future. Accordingly, in the 1870s the Meiji oligarchs set about the twin tasks of fixing Japan’s territorial limits and adjusting relations with its nearest neighbors in a way that conformed to Western expectations. The Meiji government especially wanted to establish a clear boundary somewhere to the north of Hokkaido, a name it used officially from 1869. The oligarchs shared the assumption that Japan needed that major island for both economic and strategic reasons. In particular, the Russian advance across the northern Pacific and the memory of the incidents sparked by the Laxman and Rezanov expeditions played on the minds of the young Meiji leaders, who hoped to stymie Russia’s ambitions in the north by keeping its soldiers and traders as far from the heart of Japan as possible. To the oligarchs’ relief, the Russo-Japanese Treaty of Amity, signed early in 1855, had recognized Japanese sovereignty over Hokkaido and the offshore islands in the Kuril chain as far north as Etorofu, although it left open the status of Sakhalin.”

– *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 285

Cultural Revolution? Meiji Restoration and the Modernization of Japan

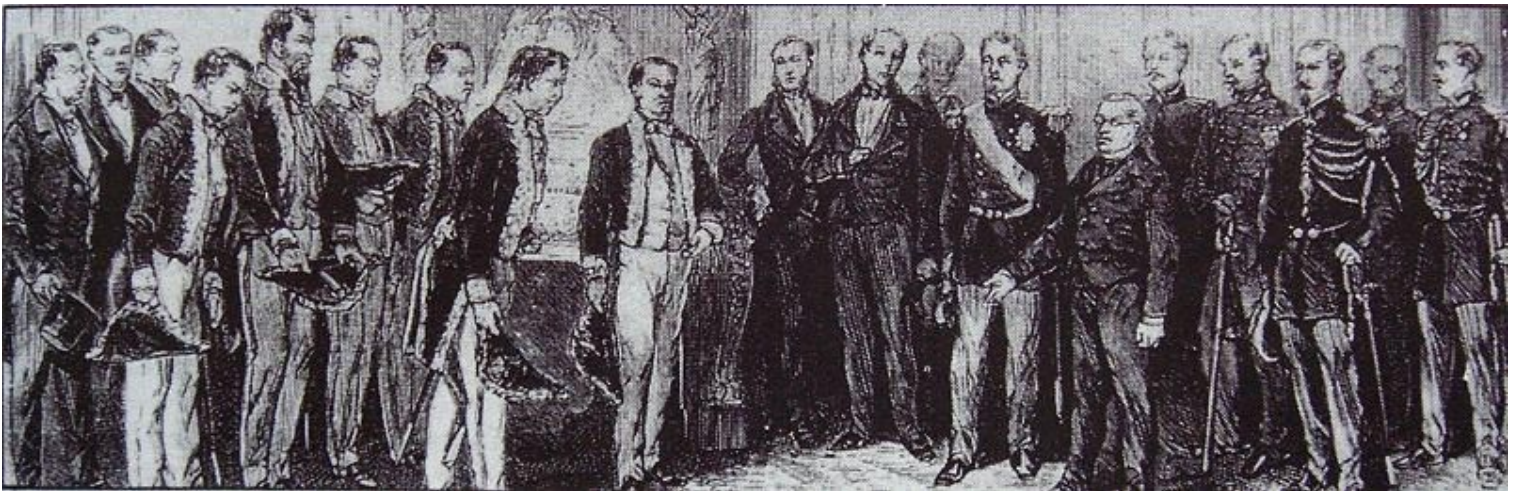
“Enrich the Nation, Strengthen the Armies” [“rich country, strong military”] (富国強兵, *fukoku kyōhei*)



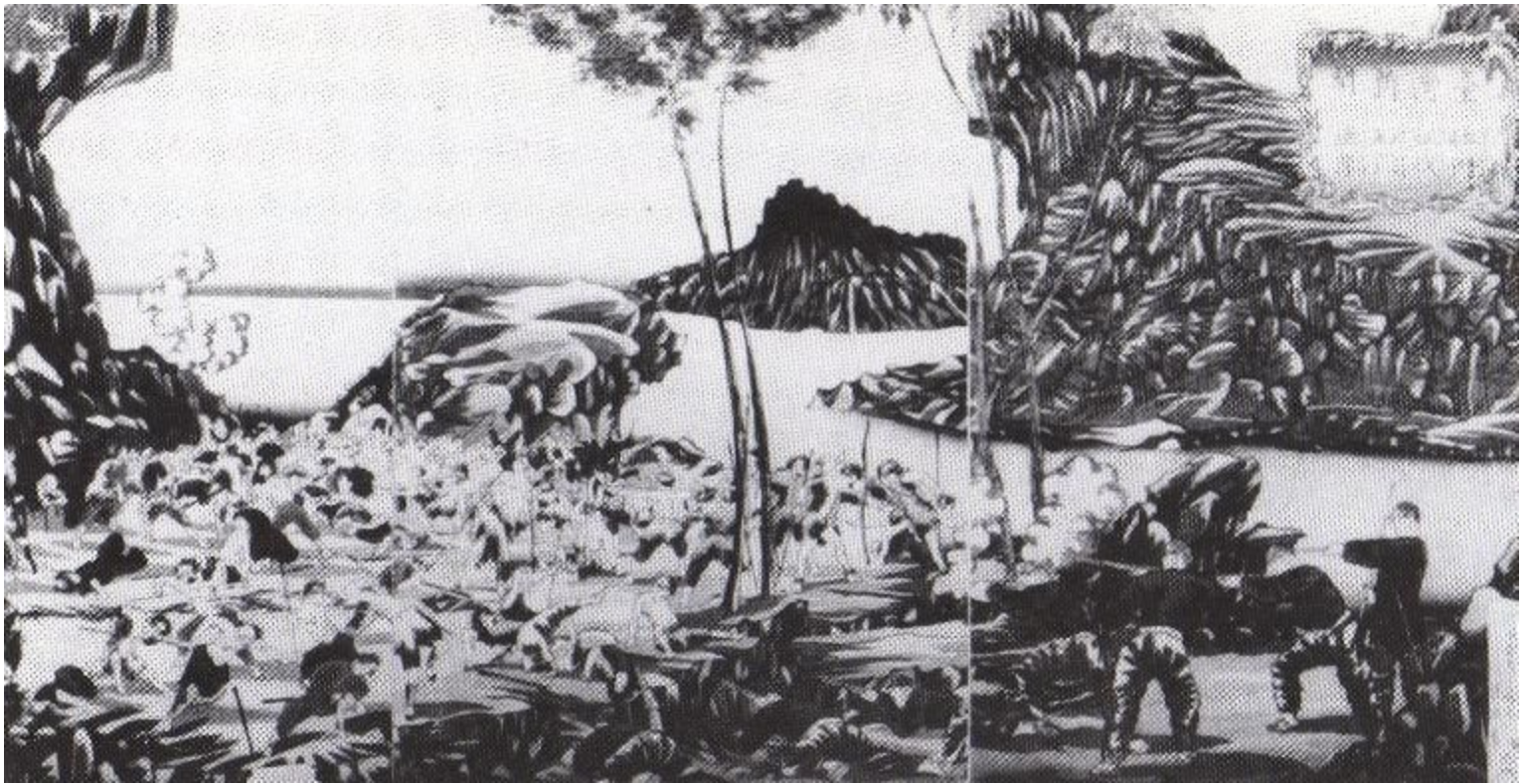
The 16-year old Meiji Emperor moves from Kyoto to Tokyo (Edo) in 1868 during the beginning of the Meiji Restoration. Kyoto was the capital of Japan for over a thousand years until 1868, when Tokyo became the new capital of Japan. The city of Edo ((江戸)) was renamed Tokyo on September 3, 1868; Edo was the primary residence of the Tokugawa shogunate from 1603 to 1868.



Iwakura Tomomi (center), the leader of the Japanese diplomats, and other leading members of the Iwakura Mission, including Ōkubo Toshimichi (right, later Finance Minister of Japan), Kido Takayoshi, and Itō Hirobumi (later Prime Minister of Japan), pose for a group portrait in London in 1872. The Iwakura Mission (岩倉使節団, *Iwakura Shisetsudan*) was a Japanese diplomatic journey around the world, initiated in 1871 by the oligarchs of the Meiji government.



Iwakura Mission visits Louis Adolphe Thiers (standing sixth from right, wearing glasses), the President of France, in 1873. (Le Monde Illustré 1873. Reproduction in Omoto "Quand le Japon s'ouvrit au monde")



Japanese Gunboat Diplomacy, Part 1: Japanese soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy battle against a group of native Taiwanese tribes during the Battle of Stonegate (石門進撃) on the island of Taiwan on May 22, 1874. A total of 54 members of a crew of 66 Ryukyuan sailors were beheaded by the Paiwan aborigines in December 1871 after a Ryukyuan (Okinawa) vessel was shipwrecked near the southern tip of Taiwan.



Japanese Gunboat Diplomacy, Part 2: The Imperial Japanese Navy, along with the Japanese navy ship *Unyo*, engage in a battle against soldiers of Korea's ruling Joseon Dynasty at Ganghwa Island, located near Seoul and Incheon, on September 20, 1875. The Imperial Japanese military intervention was known as the Ganghwa Island Incident, also known as the Japanese Battle of Ganghwa (Japanese: 江華島事件 "Kōkatō jiken"), (Korean: 운요호 사건 "Unyo-ho sageon", English: "Unyo incident").

“The oligarchs were less certain about how to establish a presence on Sakhalin and the northern Kuril Islands, where Japanese families lived interspersed with Russians and native islanders. There seemed to be little compelling reason to extend Japanese sovereignty to those sparsely settled bay and inlets, an action that would raise complicated questions of administration and defense since, in the new vocabulary of Western-style diplomacy, people living there would become “citizens” entitled to the protection of the state. Still, the Meiji oligarchs hesitated to draw the national borders too close to the shores of Hokkaido, lest they appear timid of Russia and thus create an unflattering image that might tarnish the new regime's prestige. With those concerns in mind, the Meiji government in 1875 sent representatives to Russia to negotiate a settlement to the northern question. Discussions proceeded smoothly, and on May 7 the two sides concluded the Treaty of St. Petersburg, by which the Japanese received title to the entire Kuril archipelago in exchange for abandoning claims to Sakhalin. To the west, the Meiji government incorporated Tsushima into Nagasaki Prefecture to buttress its assertion that Japan's border with Korea ran between the former island domain of the So family of daimyo and the peninsula. Adjusting other aspects of the relationship with Korea, however, proved troublesome. Traditionally, Korea considered itself a vassal kingdom within the Chinese tributary system. Despite the exclusive nature of that patron-client relationship, the Chinese suzerains permitted the peninsular country to send diplomatic embassies to Edo during the Tokugawa period and to conduct limited trade with Japan through the auspices of the So daimyo. Following their assumption of power in 1868, the new Meiji leaders requested the Korean court to recognize the “restoration of imperial rule.” Frustrated by Korea’s continuing rebuffs, some members of the Japanese inner circle, notably Saigo Takamori, proposed in 1873 that Japan send a punitive expedition to Korea. Saigo’s outburst touched off a fierce debate among the oligarchs, but in the end cooler heads, such as Ito and Okubo Toshimichi, prevailed by advancing the argument that a Korean expedition would invite Western countermoves against a still-vulnerable Japan. Ito and Okubo tabled their reservations just three years later, when the Meiji leaders tapped fellow oligarch Kuroda Kiyotaka, who had been serving as the director of the Hokkaido Colonization Office, to reopen negotiations with Korea. **Stealing a page from Commodore Perry's primer on diplomacy, in January 1876 Kuroda sent a flotilla of modern warships into Korean waters.** When Korea’s traditional mentor failed to respond to Japan's hold maneuver, the Korean monarchy felt it had little choice but to accede to Japanese demands. The Treaty of Kanghwa, signed on February 26, 1876, stipulated that “Korea, an independent sovereignty, and Japan, her compeer, in furtherance of their mutual desire for lasting peace and friendship, do hereby settle and conclude the forms and conditions of their intercourse upon terms of equality and mutual regard.” Despite such noble sentiments, the subsequent “articles of eternal peace and amity” were decidedly in Japan's favor inasmuch as they opened three Korean ports to Japanese trade and authorized Japan to establish consulates in those ports so that resident Japanese could enjoy the privilege of extraterritoriality. Ironically, less than two decades after the Euro-American powers had used gunboat diplomacy to reduce Japan to semicolonial status, Japan forced its nearest neighbor to accept a Western-style unequal treaty that severely compromised its sovereignty. **Setting Japan’s southern borders and recasting relations with the Ryukyu Islands also involved China. Like Korea, the Ryukyu Islands at the beginning of the Tokugawa era existed both as a self-contained kingdom and as a Chinese tributary state.** To complicate matters further, samurai from Satsuma domain in 1609 took the Ryukyuan king hostage and two years later compelled him to sign an agreement, kept secret from the Chinese, that acknowledged Satsuma’s overlordship and authorized trade between the islands and the daimyo domain. In the autumn of 1871, when Japan's new government abolished the old domains, it decided to claim nominal sovereignty over the Ryukyu chain by placing the islands under the administrative oversight of Kagoshima Prefecture, which encompassed the territory of the former Satsuma domain. The young regime confirmed its resolve to extend Japan's official domination southward when some fifty fishermen from the Ryukyu Islands were massacred after being shipwrecked on Taiwan, officially part of China's Fujian Province. Within Japan, public opinion called for the Meiji government to avenge the harm done to “Japanese citizens,” the Ryukyuan fishermen, by “punishing” the “uncivilized” people of Taiwan. A military campaign against Taiwan seemed an attractive policy option, and after talks with Chinese officials ended inconclusively, the Japanese government dispatched a punitive expeditionary force early in 1874. Japanese troops landed in Taiwan on May 22 and quickly overcame local resistance. In post-expedition negotiations, the Chinese court recognized the “justice” of Japan's actions, and the following year the Meiji government ordered Ryukyuan leaders to discontinue the tributary relationship with China. **Finally, in 1879, the Japanese government forced the last Ryukyuan king to abdicate and formally incorporated the islands into Japan proper as Okinawa Prefecture.** During the 1870s the Japanese government maneuvered forcefully to promote the country's diplomatic interests. The oligarchs’ actions, however, did not add up to a premeditated plan for continental expansion. Rather, in the first decade of its existence the new Meiji government had the more limited objectives of clarifying the nation’s borders and reorganizing its relations with its closest neighbors to correspond with Western practices. By the end of the decade the oligarchs had achieved those goals: Japanese sovereignty extended over Hokkaido, the Kuril archipelago, Tsushima, and the Okinawan islands; public opinion applauded the government for negotiating a treaty with Russia that demonstrated Japan’s resolve to stand up to a Western nation; and most people hailed the Treaty of Kanghwa as evidence that Japan had advanced far enough that it could begin to enjoy some of the same prerogatives that the powerful Western states considered their due.”

– *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 288-290

“Japanese attitudes toward their neighbors changed dramatically in the 1880s as a new and more virulent strain of Western imperialism threatened to overwhelm East Asia. During the late nineteenth century the powerful nations of the West that had so fascinated the Iwakura Mission-Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States-achieved new levels of political centralization and commercial development. One outgrowth of the American Civil War and a series of military confrontations in Europe was an awareness of how the production of national wealth enhanced the ability of any one country to maintain domestic political cohesion and to protect itself against hostile neighbors. Consequently, to promote national strength and prosperity, governments in western Europe and North America in the late nineteenth century championed industrialization, created nationwide transportation and marketing networks, encouraged cooperation between labor and capital, and protected domestic industry and agriculture against foreign competition. **The impulse to build powerful national economies brought with it new geopolitical attitudes. Increasingly, the so-called Great Powers that were going through the process of political centralization and economic modernization felt the need to possess colonial empires that could contribute to the metropolitan nations' development. Since the inception of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, Euro-American traders, bankers, and industrialists had sought to maximize their personal profits by exploiting sales to overseas markets and by buying up cheap raw materials and foodstuffs to ship home. Governments, none more so than Britain's, routinely supported their merchant chiefs by asserting “special rights” in far corners of the globe. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, however, imperialistic conquest became a more overtly defined state policy, and many nations began to place the full weight of their bureaucratic and military resources behind efforts to acquire colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence so as to augment the wealth, power, and prestige of the mother countries. The belief that any successful modern power must boast an empire touched off a fierce rivalry for overseas possessions.**

The European states quickly gobbled up Africa: In 1881 France claimed Tunis as a protectorate, the next year Great Britain occupied Egypt, and in 1883 Germany began to make its influence felt in the southwest corner of the continent. The United States moved into the Pacific, overthrowing the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and then competing with Germany and Great Britain for influence in the Samoan, Gilbert, and Marshall island groups. In Asia the Sino-French War of 1884-1885 brought Vietnam into the French colonial empire, just as Britain was folding Burma into its own. Everyone clamored for concessions in China. By the 1880s the list of Western nations with special rights and privileges in China included not just Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States but also Portugal, Denmark, Holland, Spain, Belgium, and Italy. By the time the passion for empire building peaked in the first decade of the twentieth century, most of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific had fallen victim to Western imperialism, and across that broad swath of the globe only seven countries still existed as fully independent, sovereign nations. The aggressive Western penetration of Asia persuaded many Japanese that their nation had to rethink its relationship with its neighbors in Asia and the belligerent powers of the West. Within the halls of power, the person most responsible for formulating Japanese foreign policy was Yamagata Aritomo, the veteran oligarch who had overseen the creation of the Japanese conscript army, designed the system of local government when he served as home minister in the 1880s, and accepted the position of prime minister late in December 1889. Yamagata was a cautious pragmatist, preoccupied with Japan's security. He saw the world in the bleak terms of realpolitik, and Korea in particular drew his dour attention. In his perception, Japan's neighbor was a weak and backward nation, possible future prey for the predatory British or the ambitious Russians, who were about to build the Trans-Siberian Railway across northern Asia to Vladivostok. The completion of that transportation link, Yamagata concluded, posed a long-term threat to Japan's vital interests since it would position the czar's armies to move on Manchuria or even Beijing. **Moreover, he knew, Russia hungered to have a year-round port as the terminus for its new railroad, and since Vladivostok iced over during the winter, Russia's generals would be tempted to secure access to Korea's more temperate harbors. If either Britain or Russia secured even a toehold on the Korean peninsula, Yamagata feared, Japan's independence ultimately would be placed in jeopardy.**

Accordingly, in an address to Japan's First Diet on December 6, 1890, Prime Minister Yamagata outlined his foreign policy objectives. The primary goal of his administration, he said, must be to “preserve our independence and enhance our national position.” To that end, he went on, Japan must be prepared to defend both a “line of sovereignty” and a “line of advantage.” The former was contiguous with the newly settled national borders, while the latter defined a surrounding buffer zone whose neutrality was essential to Japan's security needs. As Japan approached the new century, Yamagata averred, its line of sovereignty hugged Tsushima's shore line, and the line of advantage ran through Korea. “If we wish to maintain the nation's independence among the powers of the world at the present time,” the prime minister ended, “it is not enough to guard only the line of sovereignty, we must also defend the line of advantage.” That said, he introduced a budget providing for the rapid expansion of Japan's land and naval forces. Outside government, the educator and journalist Fukuzawa Yukichi also anguished over events in Asia. In the 1860s and 1870s Fukuzawa had encouraged the all-out importation of Western ideas and institutions in the belief that the world was a benign place where nations “teach and learn from each other, pray for each other's welfare, and associate with each other in accordance with the laws of nature and man.” In the early 1880s, however, he grew more cynical as he fretted about the approach of Western imperialism and pondered the lessons of Social Darwinism. Previously, Fukuzawa confessed, he had believed that the benevolent and impartial application of international law governed relations among nations. **In reality, he now realized, the**

world operated according to the law of the jungle, *jakuniku kyoshoku*. All countries struggled for power and wealth, and the mighty devoured the weak. The United States and the advanced nations of Europe, he warned, were far stronger than such countries as China and Korea, and the encroachment of the West threatened Asia with the same sort of humiliation and material destruction being visited upon Africa and the Middle East. That course of events, Fukuzawa cautioned, endangered Japan directly. He passionately believed that his nation was different from its neighbors. Alone among the countries of Asia, he claimed with pride, Japan had begun to modernize, to reshape itself in the image of the West, and thus had proved itself ready to stride the path of progress arm in arm with other civilized nations. Unfortunately, he went on, the West did not, could not recognize that fact. Euro-Americans, he lamented, wore racial blinders and did not distinguish one Asian country from another. In their perception, China and Korea were despotic, half civilized, and obstinately bound to the scorned customs of the past, and they would assume that Japan was too. How, he shook his head, could Japan avoid being crushed by the Western juggernaut? Fukuzawa proposed two answers to his own question. First, he declared, Japan must build up its military strength, and it must stand ready to use it. "When others use violence," he wrote, "we must be violent too." Second, he argued, Japan needed to encourage its Asian neighbors to reform themselves so that they could withstand the Western onslaught. If they refused, he reasoned, Japan should compel them to do so. He reminded his countrymen of a parable: A man who lives in a stone house is not safe from fire if his neighbor lives in a wooden one. The person with the more secure abode should try to persuade his neighbor to rebuild, of course, but if "a crisis should be at hand, he is justified in arbitrarily invading his neighbor's land not because he covets his neighbor's land or hates his neighbor, but simply to protect his own house from fire." Fukuzawa restated his argument in an influential essay he published in March 1885 in his newspaper, the *Jiji shinpo*. He chose as his title "Datsu-Aron" ("The Argument for Abandoning Asia") and began by repeating the familiar contrasts between a progressive Japan and a backward China and Korea. Given the West's proclivities, Fukuzawa intoned, Japan must not associate too closely with either Asian neighbor; to do so would merely undermine its own reputation. Japan, he concluded, should be prepared to act ruthlessly to protect itself. "We cannot wait for neighboring countries to become enlightened and unite to make Asia strong," he wrote. "We must rather break out of formation and join the civilized countries of the West on the path of progress. We should not give any special treatment to China and Korea but should treat them in the same way as do the Western nations." Other influential writers during the late 1880s and early 1890s proclaimed the advantages of imperialism more openly. In his first book, published in 1886, Tokutomi Soho accepted the idea, articulated by Herbert Spencer and other Western intellectuals, that all advanced industrial societies were by nature peaceful and nonaggressive. It did not take Tokutomi long, however, to change his mind completely. Japan had chalked up some remarkable accomplishments in politics, education, and commerce, he observed in 1893, but it still could not persuade the West to revise the damnable unequal treaties "our shame, our dishonor," as he characterized them—that the island nation had endured for more than thirty years. Like Fukuzawa, he placed the blame on racist attitudes. Japan was the "most progressive, developed, civilized, and powerful nation in the Orient," he wrote, but it seemed, he added remorse fully, that his country would never escape "the scorn of the white people." Imperial expansion, Tokutomi continued, presented Japan's last good chance to earn the respect of the Great Powers, ensure its security and survival as a nation, and even bring civilization to other countries in East Asia. Government leaders and opinion makers also were sensitive to the notion that the acquisition of greater economic advantages in Korea could serve Japan's security needs. Certainly, the swelling volume of trade following the signing of the Treaty of Kanghwa augured well for future prospects: Between 1877 and 1893 the value of Japanese commodities shipped to the peninsula increased fourfold, and in return Japanese traders purchased about 90 percent of all Korean exports of rice and soybeans. In June 1894 Matsukata Masayoshi, whose policies as finance minister a decade earlier had prepared a secure base for Japan's modern economic growth, contemplated ways to develop the Korean economy to Japan's advantage. Specifically, he wrote his fellow oligarchs, Japan should "make" Korea open new ports and "secure rights to mine coal, lay telegraph lines, and build a railroad line between Pusan and Seoul," concessions, he claimed, that would "truly be to the advantage of both countries." That same summer the popular press also clamored for new economic privileges in Korea. Spiritedly, *Kokumin no tomo* ("The Nation's Friend"), which quickly became Japan's most widely read political journal after its founding by Tokutomi in 1887, repeated most of Matsukata's wish list and demanded the end to existing restrictions on Japanese business activities in Korea. The Japanese who pondered the fate of their nation as Western imperialism spread across Asia were not malicious individuals. They did not harbor any particular animosity toward fellow Asians, and no person in a position of authority concocted or endorsed any concrete plan calling for the acquisition of territory overseas or the economic domination of Asia. Collectively, however, men like Yamagata, Matsukata, Fukuzawa, and Tokutomi were developing a mentalite that countenanced imperialistic behavior. **By the early 1890s they and many of their countrymen, from the political right and left, both inside and outside government, had reached the same conclusion: The world was a dangerous place, Western imperialism and racist attitudes posed grave threats to Japanese independence, and their country was justified in contemplating action outside its national borders in order to preserve its national integrity. Seizing upon the rhetoric of expansionism that filled the air, they helped forge an emerging consensus that Japan must be assertive, must even victimize others, if it wished to avoid being victimized itself.**

– *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 290-295



Left: Japanese samurai and rebel Takamori Saigō (西郷 隆盛, 1828-1877)

Center: Shō Tai (尚泰), the last king of the Ryūkyū Kingdom [Okinawa] (reign, 1848-1879)

Right: Hirobumi Itō (伊藤 博文, 1841-1909) was the Prime Minister of Japan (1885-1888, 1892-1896, 1898, 1900-1901) and Resident General of Korea (December 21, 1905-June 14, 1909). An Jung-geun, a Korean nationalist, assassinated Hirobumi Itō at the Harbin Railway Station in Harbin, China [Manchuria] on October 26, 1909 as Itō prepared to meet with Vladimir Kokovtsov, a Russian representative in Manchuria.



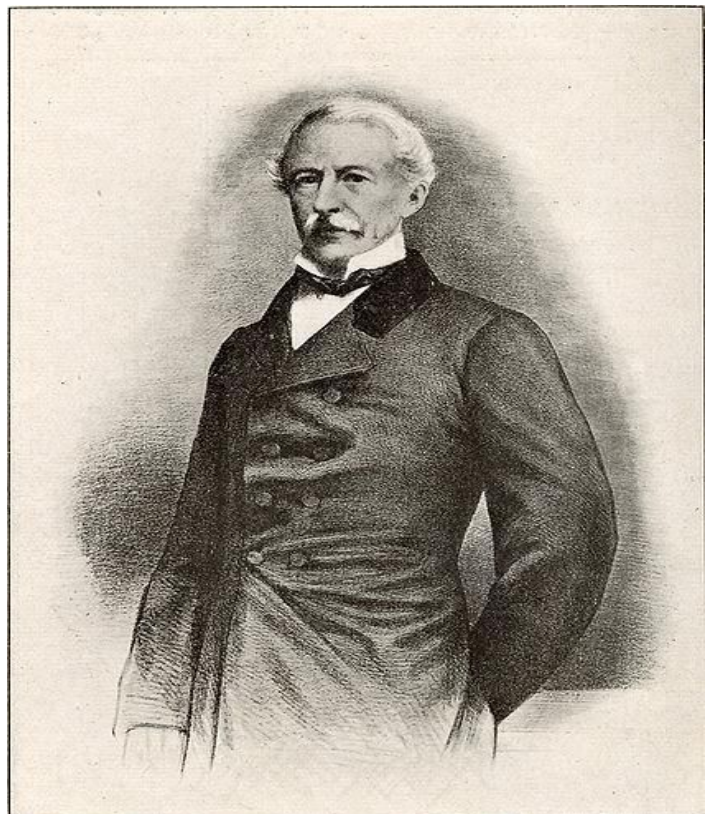
Left photo: Field Marshal Aritomo Yamagata (山縣 有朋, 1838-1922) was the Prime Minister of Japan (1889-1891, 1898-1900), President of the Privy Council (1893-1894 and 1905-1922), War Minister of Japan (1873), and Chief of the Army General Staff (1878-1882, 1884-1885, 1904-1905). Aritomo Yamagata, who visited Prussia (later a kingdom within the German Empire) and studied Prussian political and military doctrines, modernized the Imperial Japanese Army and modeled the Imperial Japanese Army after the Prussian army. Yamagata, also known as the father of modern Imperial Japanese militarism, established a system of military conscription in 1873.

Center photo: Prince Masayoshi Matsukata (松方 正義, 1835-1924) was the Prime Minister of Japan (1891-1892, 1896-1898) and Finance Minister of Japan. Prince Matsukata's granddaughter Haru Matsukata Reischauer was the wife of U.S. Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer (ambassadorship, 1961-1965); Edwin O. Reischauer was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City.

Right photo: Marquis General (and later Admiral) Tsugumichi Saigō (西郷 従道, 1843-1902) served as Navy Minister of Japan (1885-1886, 1887-1890, 1893-1898) and as a *genro* in the Privy Council in 1892. Tsugumichi Saigō was the younger brother of Japanese samurai and rebel Takamori Saigō.



Klemens Wilhelm Jacob Meckel (1842-1905) was a Prussian German army general who served as a military adviser to the Imperial Japanese Army from 1885 to 1888.



Left: Gerhard Christiaan Coenraad (Gerrit) Pels Rijcken was the first Principal of the Nagasaki Naval Training Center in Nagasaki, Japan from 1855 to 1857 and served as Navy Minister of the Netherlands from 1866 to 1868.

Right: Willem Johan Cornelis, Knight Huijssen van Kattendijke was the second Principal of the Nagasaki Naval Training Center in Nagasaki, Japan from 1857 to 1859 and served as Navy Minister of the Netherlands from 1861 to 1866

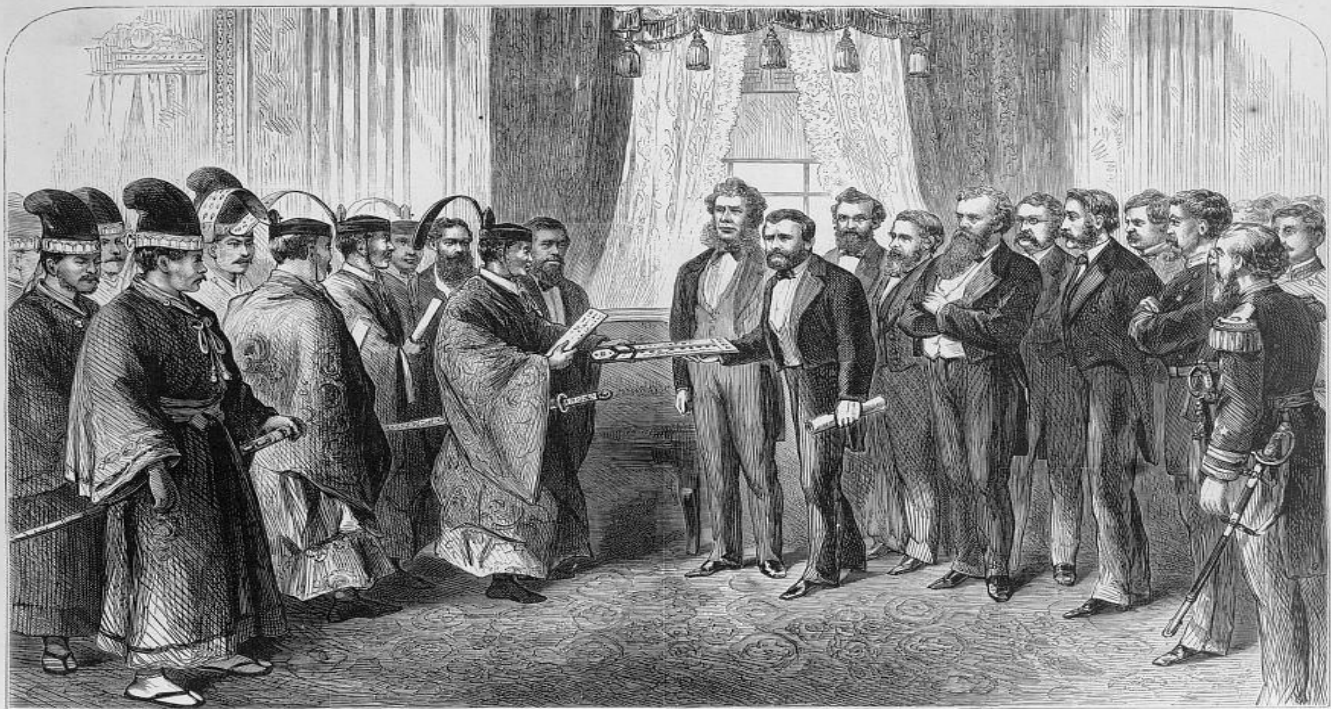


The Seikanron (Japanese: 征韓論, "Debate to conquer Korea") debate was a major political affair in Japan in 1873. Japanese bureaucrat and samurai Takamori Saigō and his supporters insisted that Japan confront Korea due to the Korean government's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Emperor Meiji as head of Japan, and insulting treatment meted out to Japanese envoys attempting to establish trade and diplomatic relations with Korea. The war-party saw the issue in Korea as an ideal opportunity to find meaningful employment for the thousands of unemployed samurai, who lost most of their income and social standing in the new Meiji social and economic order. The unemployed samurai posed a threat to the Meiji government, and Takamori Saigō sympathized with the samurais' situation; Takamori Saigō eventually resigned from the Japanese government and returned to Kagoshima, where he would participate in the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877.



Japanese samurai (warrior) and rebel Takamori Saigo (upper right) and his fellow samurais wage a bloody battle against the European-trained Imperial Japanese Army at the Battle of Shiroshima in Kagoshima, Japan on September 24, 1877; the Battle of Shiroshima was the final battle

of the Satsuma Rebellion. Takamori Saigo, who opposed the Westernization (Europeanization) of Japan, was killed in action during the Battle of Shiroyama; the Meiji Emperor pardoned Saigo Takamori posthumously on February 22, 1889.



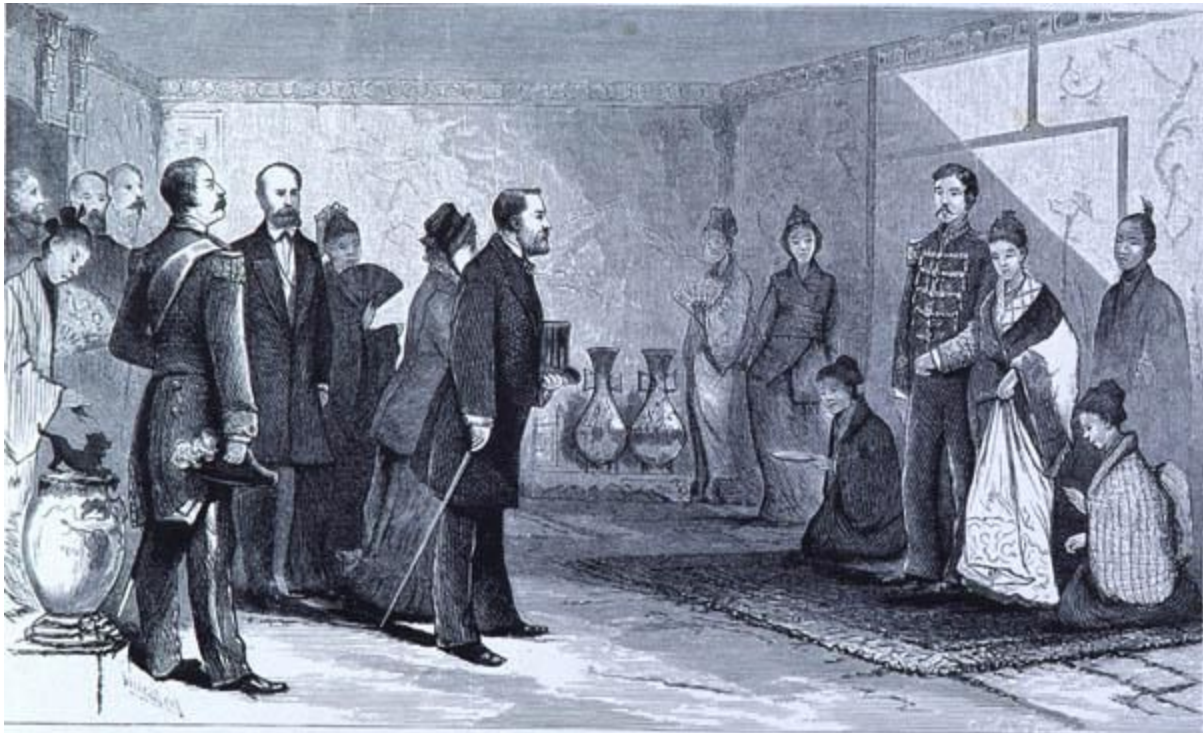
WASHINGTON.—PRESENTATION OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET, IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.—FROM A SKETCH BY JAMES E. TAYLOR.—SEE PAGE 37.

24

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER.

[March 24, 1872.]

U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant and his Cabinet receives credentials from Japanese diplomats in the East Room of the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. in 1872. (Library of Congress)



AUDIENCE WITH THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

Former U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant visits the Emperor of Japan in Tokyo, Japan in June-September 1879. Grant and his wife embarked on an around-the-world trip shortly after leaving office in 1877.

To Prince Kung and Iwakura Tomomi

Tokio, Japan.
August 13, 1879.

Since my arrival in Japan I have been favored with several interviews with the cabinet of His Majesty The Emperor, on the subject which His Highness Prince Kung and His Excellency the Viceroy Li Hung Chang have so much at heart, to wit an honorable and satisfactory settlement of the Loo Choo [Ryukyu] question; a settlement which will be alike honorable to both nations. While the statement of facts relating to this question as stated by the Japanese side differ in many material points from the statements made to me both in Peking and Tientsin yet I feel that what I have heard will justify me in saying that the Japanese are most anxious to preserve the most amicable relations with China, and to this end would magnanimously make sacrifices of what she believes to be her just rights if China would meet her in the same spirit. But in the heated controversy which has already taken place between the two governments on the Loo Choo question there have been one or more communications on the part of China so threatening in tone, or if not threatening so offensive, that I do not believe that the Japanese would consent to treat with any commission from the other side, until China consented to withdraw such dispatch or dispatches. This being done I believe Japan would gladly appoint a commission or commissioners from among her able citizens, to meet a like commission or commissioners, appointed in like manner, by China from among her own representative citizens. They would not only meet to confer, but would meet determined to bring about permanent good feeling among the two peoples if China would meet them halfway in concessions.

No foreign power should be brought into such a convention, nor should any foreigner, except it might be as interpreter and with the consent of both parties. It might be that such a convention would fail to agree entirely, or fail upon some minor points, in which contingency the two nations might agree upon an arbitrator whose decision on the disputed points, after hearing both sides, should be binding. In such case, while it is entirely the business of the two nations, I would earnestly suggest that no representative of a foreign government abroad should be selected.

In the vast East, embracing more than two-thirds of the human population of the world, there are but two nations even partially free from the domination and dictation of some one or other of the European powers with intelligence and strength enough to maintain their independence. Japan and China are the two nations. The people of both are brave, intelligent, frugal and industrious. With a little more advancement in modern civilization, mechanics, engineering, &c., they could throw off the offensive treaties which now cripple and humiliate them, and could enter into competition for the world's commerce. Much more employment for the people would result from the change and vastly more effective would it be. They would become much larger consumers as well as producers, and then the civilized world would be vastly benefited by the change, but none so much as China and Japan.

Japan is rapidly reaching a condition of independence, and if it had now to be done over such treaties as exist could not be forced upon her. What Japan has done, and is now doing, China has the power, and I trust the inclination, to do. I can readily conceive that there are many foreigners, particularly among those interested in trade, who do not look beyond the present, and who would like to have the present condition remain, only grasping more from the East, and leaving the natives of the soil merely "hewers of wood and drawers of water," for their benefit. I have so much sympathy for the good of their children if not for them, that I hope the two countries will disappoint them.

I leave Japan in two weeks from now, for my American home. If I could hear there, that amicable and most friendly relations had been established between China and Japan I should feel delighted. If anything I may have said or done should have any effect in producing so desirable a result I shall feel that my visit has not been in vain, though made without thought of taking any part in the affairs of the two countries.

With many thanks for the great courtesy shown me by all Chinese officials during my visit to the country, and with the assurances of my highest consideration,

I am very truly & respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
U.S. Grant.

Source: *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant: October 1, 1878-September 30, 1880* by Ulysses Simpson Grant, John Y. Simon, Ulysses S. Grant Association, p. 213-215

“Grant was enchanted with the Far East. China intrigued him, and he was especially taken with Li Hung-Chang, the great viceroy of the Middle Kingdom, whom Grant compared to Bismarck and Disraeli. But he noted and deplored the overbearing attitude of Westerners living in China. “The course of the average minister, consul, and merchant in this country towards the native is much like the course of the former slave owner towards the freedman when the latter attempts to think for himself in matters of choice of candidates.” Grant saw a China mired in the past, with change coming slowly but inevitably. “When it does come,” he wrote Badeau, “China will rapidly become a powerful and rich nation. Her territory is vast and full of resources. The population is industrious and frugal, intelligent and quick to learn. They must, however, have the protection of a better and more honest government to succeed.” Of all the countries he visited, the Land of the Rising Sun was Grant’s favorite. **“My visit to Japan has been the most pleasant of all my travels,”** he wrote from Tokyo at the beginning of August 1879. **“The country is beautifully cultivated, the scenery is grand, and the people, from the highest to the lowest, the most kindly and the most cleanly in the world.”** A month later he informed Badeau he was coming home, still enthusiastic about Japan, but most of all, about the Japanese. “The progress they have made in the last twelve years is almost incredible. They have now Military and Naval Academies, Colleges, Engineering schools, schools of science and free schools, for male and female, as thoroughly organized, and on as high a basis of instruction, as any country in the world. Travel in the interior is as safe for an unarmed, unprotected foreigner as it is in the New England States. Much safer from extortion. This is marvelous when the treatment their people – and all eastern peoples – receive at the hands of the average foreigner residing among them is considered. I have never been so struck with the heartless of Nations as well as individuals as since coming to the East. But the day of retribution is sure to come.” Grant sailed for San Francisco on the *City of Tokio*, September 3, 1879. He had been in Japan three months, and his leave-taking was poignant. The imperial cavalry escorted him to the palace, where Emperor Mutsuhito and the empress were waiting to say goodbye. Throughout his career, both as general in chief and president, and in all the countries visited, Grant had always spoken extemporaneously on such occasions. This time he wrote out his remarks beforehand, so concerned was he to say the right thing. The emperor, as he had done at their first meeting, advanced to meet the general, an equally unprecedented gesture. Grant recognized that although he was not an official representative of the government, he was nevertheless speaking for the United States. **The brief address, one of Grant’s finest, stressed the importance of an independent and vigorous Japan, free of foreign domination.** Grant’s send-off in Yokohama provided a storybook ending for the wanderings of this modern Ulysses. The route from Tokyo was lined with cheering multitudes waving American and Japanese flags. At the Admiralty Wharf, Grant was greeted by the Japanese naval command, the fleet riding at anchor in the distance. A navy band broke into “Hail Columbia,” fireworks lit the sky, and the Admiralty barge, festooned with color, moved out into the harbor, carrying the general to his steamer. After another round of goodbyes, the *City of Tokio*, the largest steamer on the Pacific run, got underway, convoyed to the open seas by a Japanese man-of-war, the imperial cabinet drawn up on deck. One by one, as Grant’s vessel passed, the naval ships in the harbor bellowed a twenty-one-gun salute, cheering crewmen aloft in the rigging and manning the yards. As Mount Fujiyama [Mount Fuji] faded in the distance, the accompanying Japanese man-of-war turned homeward and fired a final salvo in salute. Grant, with heavy heart, was going home.” – *Grant* by Jean Edward Smith (2001), p. 612-613

Remembering Ulysses S. Grant's visit to Japan

By Hiroshi Chida

Stars and Stripes

Published: April 8, 2004

After a stressful eight years as the 18th president of the United States, in the difficult reconstruction period following the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant (1822- 1885) sought a quieter life as a private citizen and planned a vacation to England with his wife and one of his sons to meet his daughter Nellie. But this voyage mushroomed into an unprecedented journey.

The Grants embarked on a two-year world adventure on May 17, 1877, touring Europe, the Middle East and Asia. They were welcomed at every place they visited. They received a most enthusiastic welcome in China and in Japan.

In China, they were greeted by huge crowds and dined on delicacies such as plover eggs and shark fins. Grant expressed sympathy for the bigotry the Chinese faced throughout the world, stating "I am not prepared to justify the treatment the Chinese have received at the hands of the foreigner." Chinese General Li Hung Chang was so impressed with Grant that he asked him to carry a message to the Japanese government regarding a territorial dispute over Ryukyu (Okinawa). Grant's desire to see disputes settled peacefully persuaded him to serve as an unofficial diplomat between the two nations.

Hama Rikyu and the meeting

This year marks the 125th anniversary of Grant's visit to Japan. Grant and his family arrived at Nagasaki, Japan on June 7, 1879. He expressed that he thought was Japan "beautiful beyond description." They were given a hearty reception wherever they went and were treated like a general making a triumphal entrance. Since his name was well known throughout the world, the Japanese government thought it was fitting that Japan should accord him a special reception, excelling that given to other foreign guests.

Grant, after traveling in Japan and seeing conditions for himself, aided by his experience as president and as a general during the Civil War, was able to give the Emperor advice which was of great value in the administration of Japan during that period. Grant and Emperor Meiji (26 years old at that time) met at Hama Detached Palace in Tokyo on Aug. 10 and Grant's advice was received with great confidence.

For instance, he gave his viewpoint regarding the foreign policy of Europe, the danger of foreign loans, universal suffrage, the affairs of the Ryukyu Islands (a territorial dispute with China), the taxes of the people, the revision of unfair treaties to Japan, national education and the engagement of the services of foreign teachers. The Emperor replied, "I have paid close attention to what you have said and shall consider it. I thank you for your kindness."

Zojoji Temple, planting a tree

On July 15, 1879, the Grants visited the Tokugawa's family temple Zojoji Temple at Shiba in Tokyo and planted a cedar tree which has grown to a giant tree today. After Ieyasu Tokugawa started to rule the Kanto region (eastern Japan), he accorded cordial protection to Zojoji as the family temple of the Tokugawa family. In parallel to the expansion of the Edo Castle, a large-scale construction project was also commenced for Zojoji and an unparalleled grand cathedral was built. The cathedral, temples and the mausoleum of the Tokugawa family were burnt down by air raids during World War II. However, its cathedral and other structures have been rebuilt. Located in its precincts are the tombs of six Tokugawa Shoguns and their wives and children.

Grand party at Ueno

While the Grants were in Tokyo, on Aug. 25, 1879, the citizens of Tokyo held a fete for them at Ueno Park, which His Majesty was pleased to attend. It was an eventful day, the celebration beginning at 2 p.m. and continuing until 10 p.m. There was fencing, feats of horsemanship, archery and great feasting — and in the evening, displays of fireworks. During the day the Grants were each asked to plant a tree and he planted a hinoki, Lawson Cypress, and she, a gyokuran, Bull Bay (Magnolia grandiflora) at Ueno Park.

Seiyoken Menu

The menu at the party for the Grants at the residence of the Minister of the Right Tomomi Iwakura on July 8, 1879 is kept at Ueno Seiyoken Restaurant — the oldest large-scale western-style restaurant built in Japan. It was as follows: Potage Consommé (soup); Chaud-froid Cotelette Mouton (mutton); Bouchée a la béchamel (white sauce chicken); Filet Chateaubriand (beef); Caille au riz (quail); Asperges Beurre Fondu (asparagus); Punch (liquored sherbet); Dindonneau Truff Jambon salada (turkey and ham salad); Glacée (ice cream); Charlette Parisienne (cake); Gâteau (cake); and fruits.

During his stay in Japan, Grant visited all parts of the country including his trip to Nikko. The railways were not as developed as they are today, so these trips meant journeying on foot, horseback or rickshaw. Grant and his family sailed from Yokohama on Sept. 3, 1879.

Monument at Ueno

Fifty years later in August 1929, Viscount Shibusawa and Baron Masuda who were the members of the original reception committee to welcome the Grants, erected a monument near the spot where the Grants planted trees so that the history of the trees were not forgotten. They wished to have a memorial of Grant's visit to keep his memory fresh in the minds of the Japanese people, as do the trees that are always green.

In this anniversary year his memory will be honored with special ceremonies on May 28.

Source: <http://www.stripes.com/military-life/travel/remembering-ulysses-s-grant-s-visit-to-japan-1.22915>



A monument, inscribed with quotations from the speeches of Grant, given during his visit to Japan in 1879, was erected in 1929 by Viscount Shibusawa and Baron Masuda, who were members of the reception committee of the city of Tokyo at the time of Grant's visit.
(Photo: Hiroshi Chida / Stars & Stripe)



Ulysses S. Grant, former President of the U.S., visits Chinese Viceroy Li Hung Chang in Tientsin, China in 1879 during his around-the-world trip that lasted from 1877 to 1879. Ulysses S. Grant visited London, Berlin, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg (Russia), Athens, Egypt, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Saigon (Vietnam), Tientsin (China), and Tokyo (Japan) during his around-the-world tour from 1877 to 1879. Ulysses S. Grant served as a mediator during China's dispute against Japan over control of the Ryukyu Islands (Loo-choo, present-day Okinawa) and advised the Emperor of Japan to seek peace through negotiations instead of a costly war. The Imperial Japanese government administered the Kingdom of Ryukyu, including Okinawa, in 1872 and annexed the Kingdom of Ryukyu on April 4, 1879. (Photo: [Wikimedia](#))



Map of the Ryukyu Islands [formerly LooChoo Islands] and the island of Taiwan



Doshisha University (同志社大学, *Dōshisha daigaku*), a private Christian college in Kyoto, Japan, was founded in 1875. Dwight Whitney Learned (B.A. Yale 1870, Ph.D. Yale 1873), **a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University**, was a Professor of Chinese History, Biblical Theology, and Greek at Doshisha College [later Doshisha University] from 1876 to 1928.



Joseph Hardy Neesima (新島 襄, *Nijima Jō*, 1843-1890) was the founder and inaugural president of Doshisha University from 1875 to 1890. Neesima (Nijima) earned a Bachelor of Science degree at Amherst College in 1870 and became the first Japanese person to earn a college degree in the United States of America.

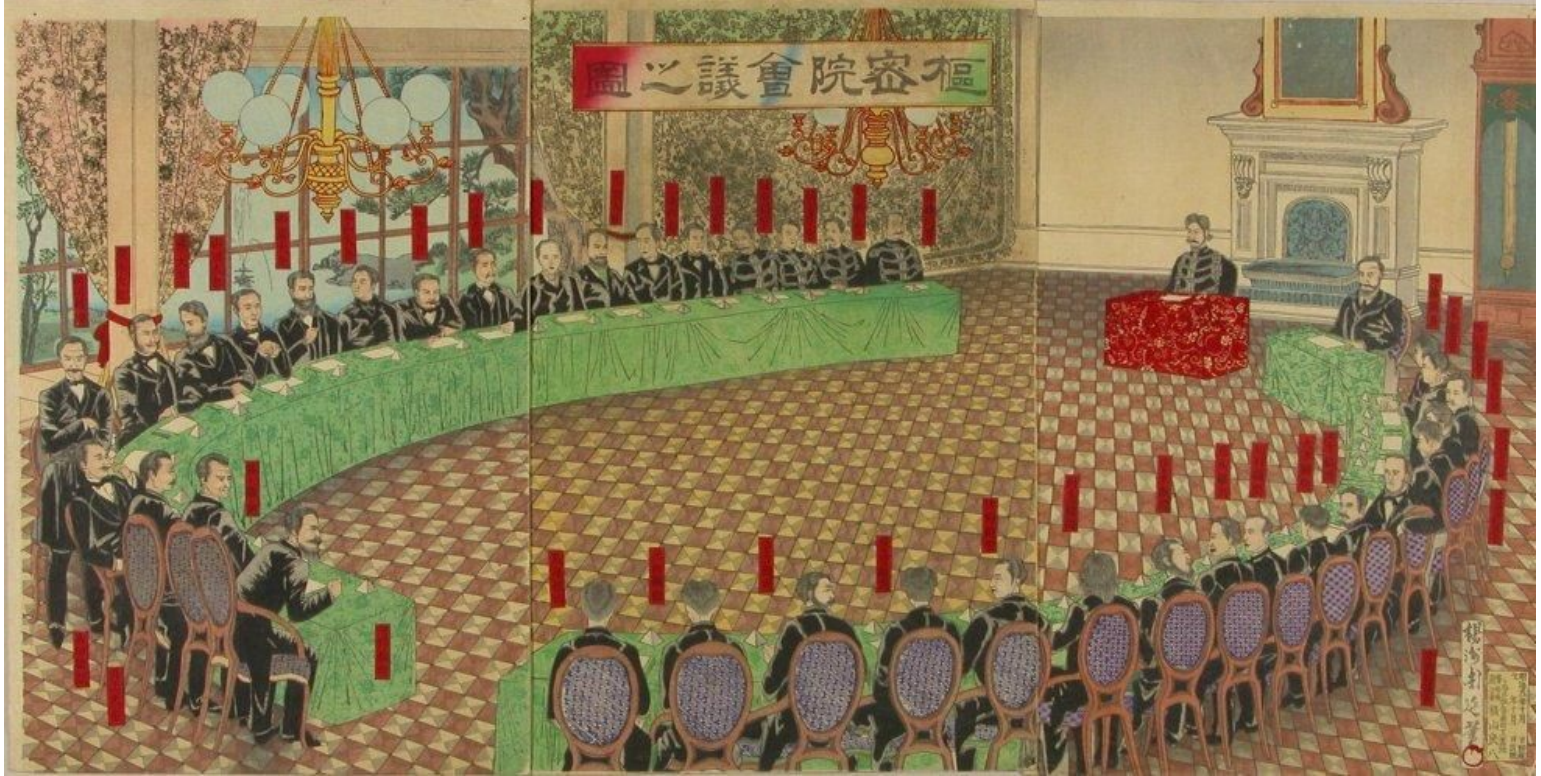


“Boys Be Ambitious”: A statue of American professor Dr. William Smith Clark (July 31, 1826-March 9, 1886), along with his famous words, appears in Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan. Dr. William Smith Clark, a devout Christian, served as the inaugural president of Sapporo Agricultural College (today known as Hokkaido University) from 1876 to 1877. William Smith Clark, who graduated from Amherst College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1848 and a Ph.D. at the University of Goettingen (Germany) in 1852, was the President of Massachusetts Agricultural College (present-day University of Massachusetts-Amherst) from 1867 to 1879.

Notable American professors in Japan (incomplete):

Henry Taylor Terry (B.A. Yale 1869) – Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University (1876-1884); Professor of English Law at University of Tokyo (1894-1912)

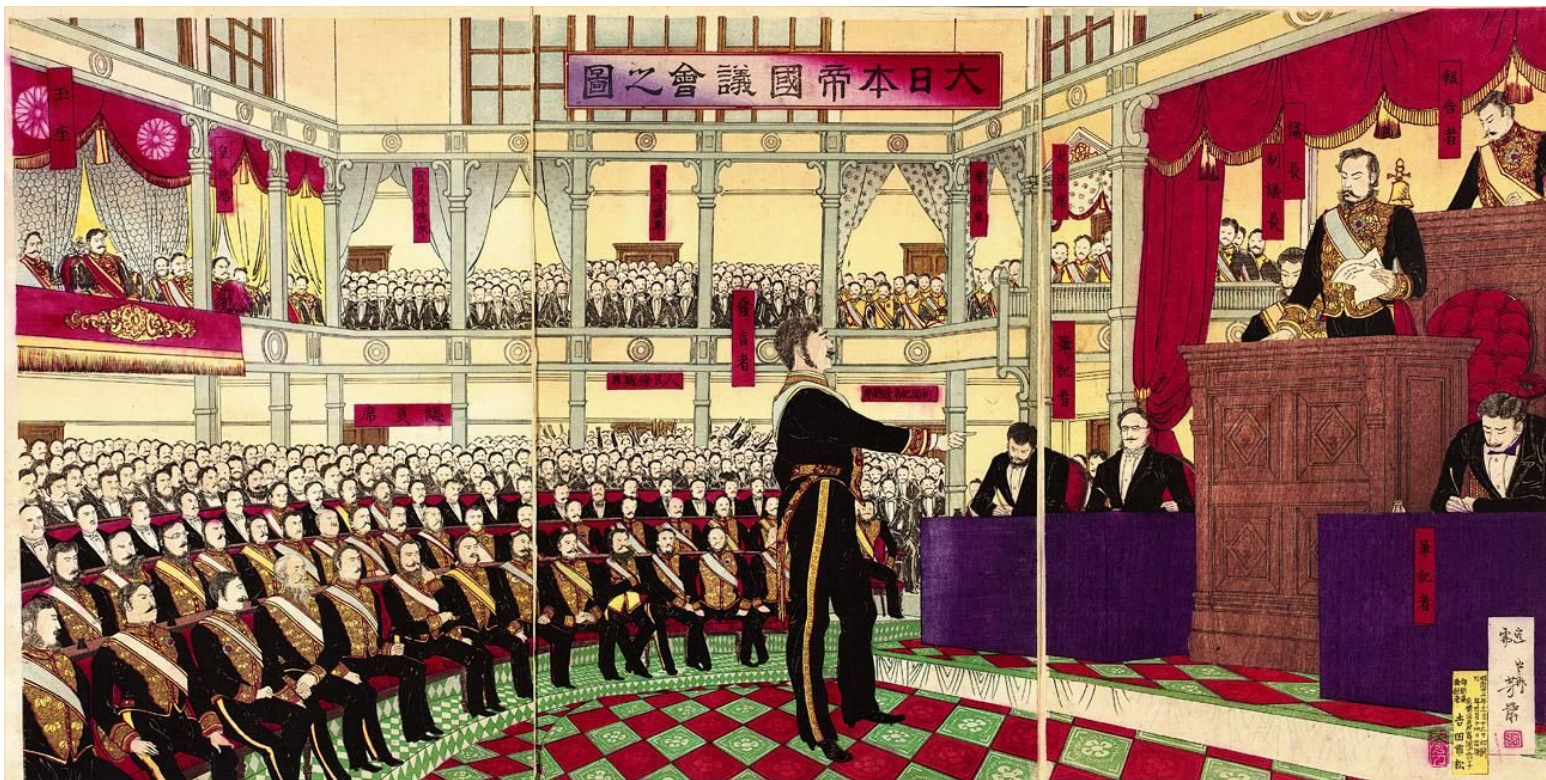
William Addison Houghton (B.A. Yale 1873, Scroll & Key 1873) – Professor of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University (1877-1882)
 Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (A.B. Harvard 1874) – Professor of Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University (1878-1886)
 Thomas Sergeant Perry (A.B. Harvard 1866) – Professor of English Language and Literature at Keio University in Tokyo (1898-1901)
 John Henry Wigmore (A.B. Harvard 1883, LL.B. Harvard 1887) – Professor of Anglo-American Law at Keio University in Tokyo (1889-1892)
 Garrett Droppers (A.B. Harvard 1887) – Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Tokyo University in Tokyo (1889-1898)



The Meiji Emperor meets with his Privy Councilors in Tokyo in 1888. (Ukiyo-e woodblock prints by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1888)

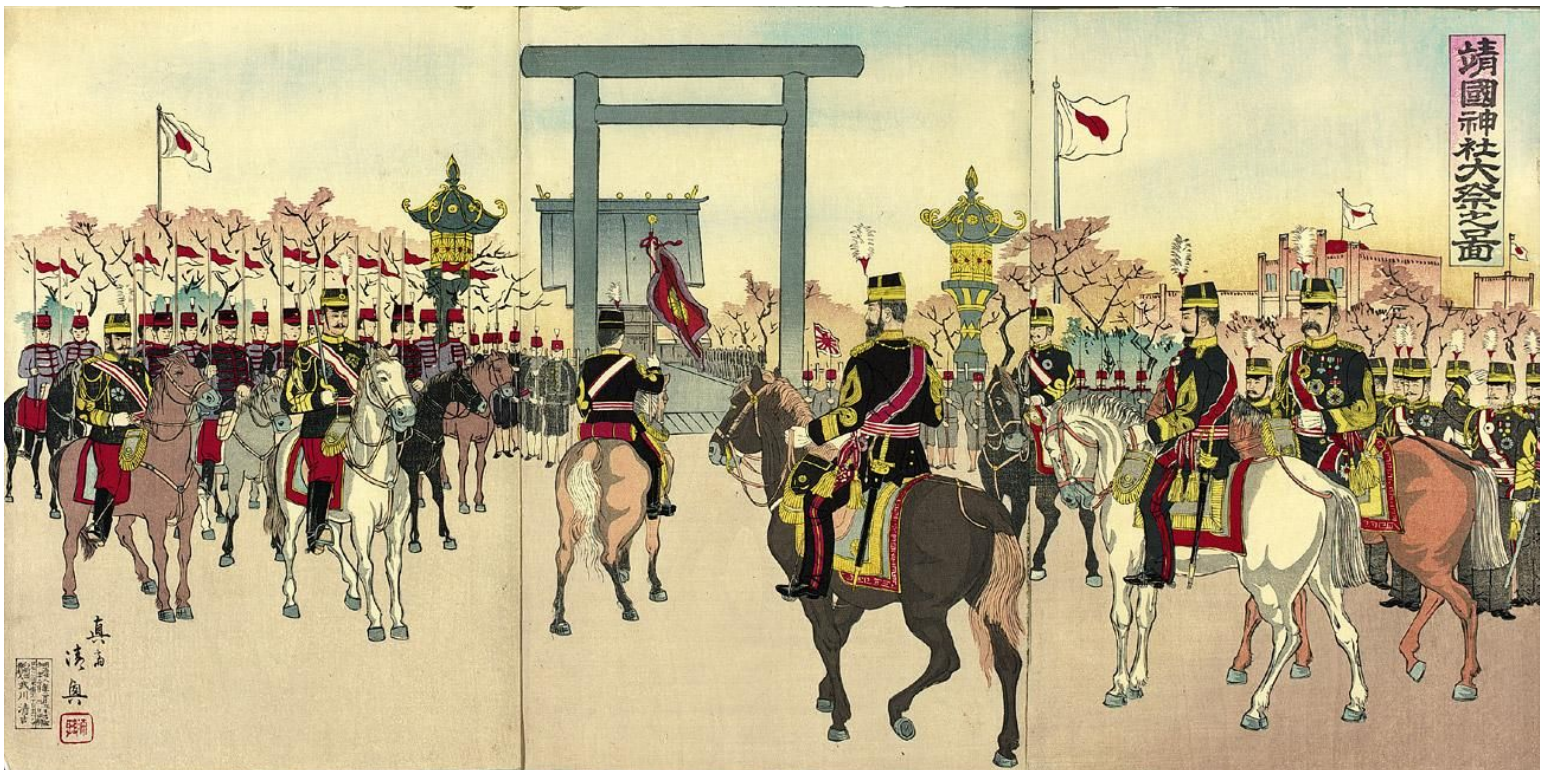


The Meiji Emperor (Emperor Mutsuhito) announces the promulgation of The Meiji Constitution (明治憲法 *Meiji Kenpō*), also known as the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (大日本帝国憲法, *Dai-Nippon Teikoku Kenpō*) on February 11, 1889. The Meiji Constitution was enacted from November 29, 1890 until May 2, 1947. The Meiji Constitution was a replica of the Prussian (German) Constitution; the sovereignty of the Japanese Empire revolved around the Emperor and the Imperial Japanese armed forces.



The convening of a diet, or parliament, under the new Meiji Constitution in 1890 was hailed in Europe and the United States as a sign of Japan's impressive "Westernization." Although property requirements restricted the electorate in the lower house to a small number at the outset, by 1925 the diet had approved universal male suffrage. (Japanese women did not get the vote until 1946.) In this depiction of the new diet, the emperor overlooks the scene from a box on the balcony on the far left. Government officials and elected diet members all wear formal Western-style dress. (*Illustration of the Imperial Diet of Japan* by Gotō Yoshikage, 1890)

http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/throwing_off_asia_01/emperor_02.html



Central to the creation of the modern emperor system was the carefully promoted association of the emperor with the indigenous Shinto religion, and this in turn with the creation of a militarily strong modern nation-state. A key step in this direction was the establishment of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, where the souls of those who died fighting for the imperial cause beginning in the 1850s were enshrined. The huge bronze *torii* or gateway at Yasukuni was erected in 1887. Yasukuni became a major symbol of Japanese patriotism in the Asia-Pacific War of the 1930s and early 1940s, and remains a focus today for paying respect to Japanese who died in World War Two.

(*Illustration of Grand Festival at Yasukuni Shrine* by Shinohara Kiyooki, 1895)

http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/throwing_off_asia_01/emperor_02.html

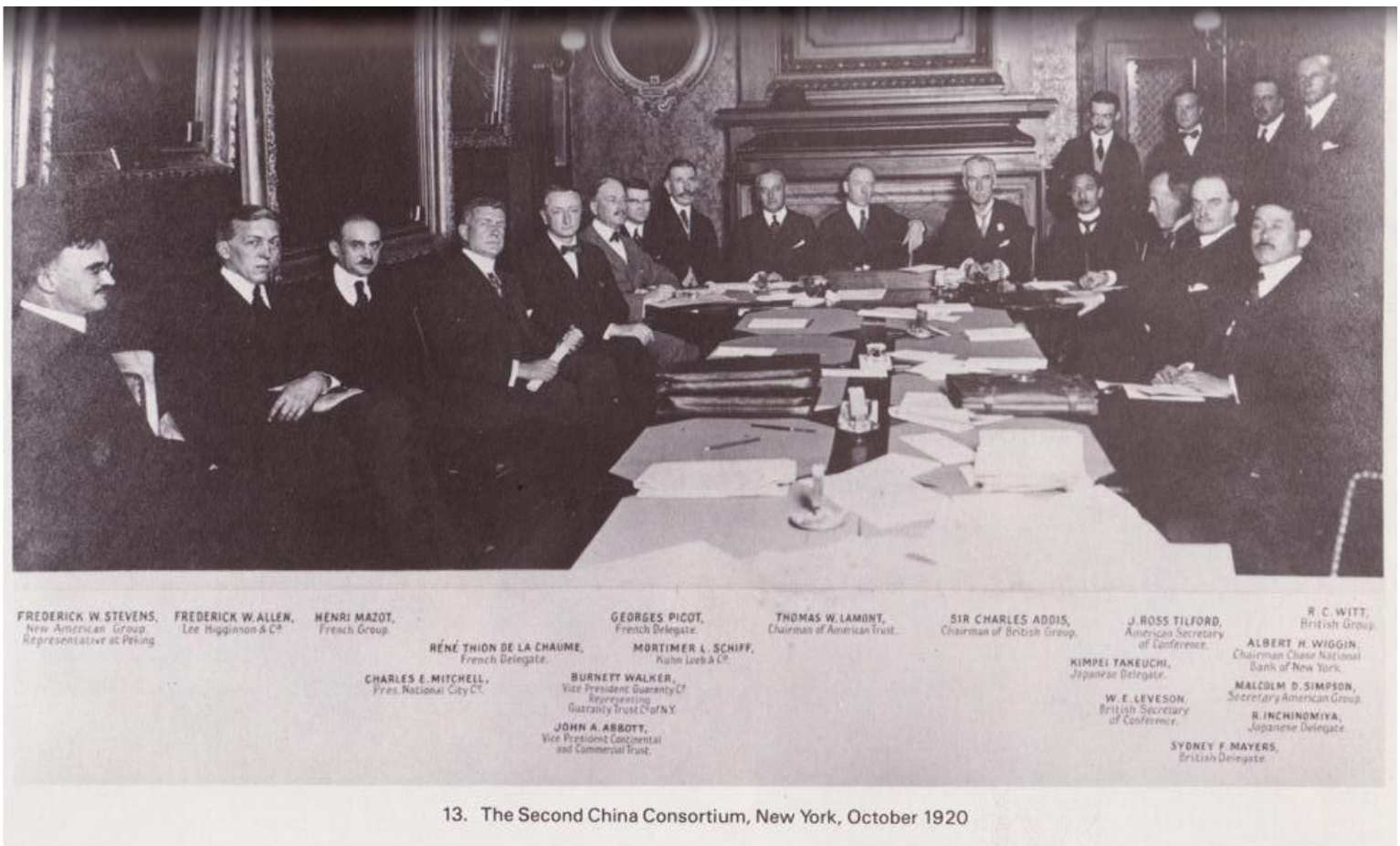


Emperor Mutsuhito, also known as the Meiji Emperor, ruled Japan from February 3, 1867 until his death on July 30, 1912.

Military-Industrial Complex in Imperial Japan, Part 1: Zaibatsu, Bank of Japan, and the Imperial Japanese Economic War Machine



The Bank of Japan (日本銀行), located in the Chuo district (中央区) of Tokyo (東京), Japan, is Japan's central bank. The Bank of Japan was founded in 1882.



International bankers attend The Second China Consortium meeting in New York City in October 1920. Left to right: Frederick W. Stevens, Frederick W. Allen, Henri Mazot, Charles E. Mitchell, Rene Thion de la Chaume, John A. Abbott, Burnett Walker, Georges Picot, Mortimer L. Schiff, Thomas W. Lamont, Sir Charles Addis, Kinpei Takeuchi, W.E. Leveson, J. Ross Tilford, Sydney F. Mayers, Malcolm D. Simpson, Albert H. Wiggin, R. Inchinomiya, and R.C. Witt. Charles E. Mitchell, Mortimer L. Schiff, Thomas

W. Lamont, and Albert H. Wiggin were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Frederick W. Allen was a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University. (Photo: *Finance and Empire: Sir Charles Addis, 1961-1945* by Roberta Allbert Dayer)

Governors of the Bank of Japan



Shigetoshi Yoshihara
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(October 6, 1882-Dec. 19, 1887)



Koichiro Kawada
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(Sept. 3, 1889-Nov. 7, 1896)
Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)



Yanosuke Iwasaki
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(Nov. 11, 1896-Oct. 20, 1898)
Spanish-American War (1898)



Tatsuo Yamamoto
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(October 20, 1898-Oct. 19, 1903)
Boxer Rebellion (1900)



Baron Shigeyoshi Matsuo
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(October 20, 1903-June 1, 1911)

Russo-Japanese War
(1904-1905); Japanese
annexation of Korea (1910)



Viscount Yataro Mishima
Governor of Japan
(Feb. 28, 1913-March 7, 1919)

World War I (1914-1918)



Hisaakira Hijikata
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(June 12, 1928-June 4, 1935)

Stock Market Crash in New York
City (October 1929); Mukden
Incident (September 18, 1931);
Reichstag Fire (Feb. 27, 1933)



Toyotaro Yuki
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(July 27, 1937-March 18, 1944)

Japan's invasion of Shanghai
(August-November 1937), Rape
of Nanking (December 1937),
and Pearl Harbor (Dec. 7, 1941)



Junnosuke Inoue
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(March 13, 1919-Sept. 2, 1923,
May 10, 1927-June 12, 1928)



Eigo Fukai
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(June 4, 1935-February 9, 1937)



Viscount Keizo Shibusawa,
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(March 18, 1944-Oct. 9, 1945)



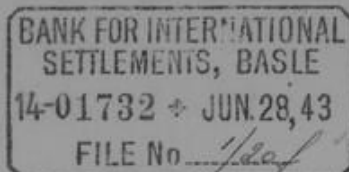
Hisato Ichimada
Governor of the Bank of Japan
(June 1, 1946-Dec. 10, 1954);
American Occupation and
Korean War



THE BANK OF JAPAN
TOKYO

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
GENERAL MANAGER'S OFFICE
SECRETARY GENERAL
MR. COLENUTT

Duplicate



, 1943.

The President
The Bank for International Settlements
Basle

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that Mr. Hissakira Kano will, as from this day and until further notice, act as a nominee of this Bank for the purpose of attending the General Meetings of the Bank for International Settlements, and of voting at such meetings, in Mr. Yamamoto's absence, in respect of the 19,770 shares in the capital of your Bank subscribed in Japan, as provided for in Article 15 of the Statutes.

I beg, in addition, to call your attention to the understanding that there will be no legal relationship in general between the said nominee and the Bank of Japan or the Governor thereof, either by way of representation or in the capacity of deputy.

Yours faithfully,

Toyotaro Yuki

Governor.



29 JUN 1944

THE BANK OF JAPAN

SECRETARY GENERAL

MR. COLENUTT

LEGAL ADVISER'S
OFFICE

BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL
SETTLEMENTS, BASLE

TOKYO

15-01421 + JUN 29 44

March 18, 1944.

FILE No. *13th Dep. Mr. + 120th*

The President
The Bank for International Settlements
Basle

Dear Sir,

Having been appointed by the Government this day to the office of Governor of the Bank of Japan in the place of Mr. Toyotaro Yuki who resigned, I have the honour to inform you that I have appointed Mr. Yoneji Yamamoto, the substitute nominee of the former Governor to hold office on the Board of your Institution under sub-clause (1) of Article 28 of the Statutes of the Bank for International Settlements, to act for me in the same capacity.

Mr. Yamamoto will also continue to act, until further notice, as the nominee of this Bank for the purpose of attending the General Meetings, and of voting at such meetings in respect of the 19,770 shares in the capital of your Bank subscribed in Japan, as provided for in Article 15 of your Statutes.

Yours faithfully,

Keizo Shibusawa

Governor.



U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt entertains his guests at luncheon in the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on May 27, 1933. They were members of the Japanese financial mission who discussed international economics with him before leaving for the London conference. Left to right is Katsuji Debuchi, Japanese Ambassador to the U.S.; First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, Eigo Fukai, prominent Japanese financier and later Governor of the Bank of Japan; Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, chief of the Japanese delegation to the conference; President Roosevelt, and U.S. Navy Captain Walter Vernou, a Naval Aide. (Photo: Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS)



Japanese delegates to the second International Technical Raw Silk Conference, which was held in New York in October 1929, pose for a group photo in front of the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on October 10, 1929 after a short visit with U.S. President Herbert Hoover. In the center of the group is Katsuji Debuchi, the Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. (Photo: Bettmann/CORBIS)



From Tokyo With Love? Members of the Japanese delegation to the World Economic Conference in London bid goodbye to U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt at the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on May 27, 1933. Left to right: Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, head delegate and former Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. (1918-1919); Juukuio Kabono, Economic adviser; President Roosevelt; Japanese banker Eigo Fukai (Governor of the Bank of Japan from 1935 to 1937); and Katsuji Debuchi, Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Nihonbashi Street in Tokyo, Japan in circa 1919 (Photo: © Lake County Museum/CORBIS)

“Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda stand apart in Japanese business history as the four great *zaibatsu*, the financial cliques that began to take shape during the Meiji period, although the term *zaibatsu* itself was not heard much until the 1910s. Each conglomerate consisted of a far-flung network of legally distinct companies and subsidiaries. Within each *zaibatsu*, individual firms engaged in their own specialized business activities but were linked together by personal and historical relationships, common ownership, collective goals set by a centralized advisory committee, interlocking boards of directors, and access to a shared pool of capital and technology. In contrast with the small-scale enterprises prevalent in light industry, each *zaibatsu* controlled its own financial institutions, which provided it a sound basis for long-range corporate planning and finance. The *zaibatsu* also benefited from government favors and patronage, which further helped the Big Four to pioneer and later dominate the so-called modern sector of the economy – that is, heavy industries such as mining, shipbuilding, and the manufacture of machinery, metals, and chemicals. Strong leadership, another characteristic of the *zaibatsu*, enabled the House of Mitsui to weather the chaos of the restoration years and eventually become Japan's largest conglomerate. The man who began to move the Mitsui family away from its roots as merchandisers par excellence, symbolized by the success of the Echigoya chain of dry goods stores, was the shrewd, calculating Minomura Rizaemon. If we are to believe the colorful life history that Minomura constructed for himself, he was the son of a poor, masterless samurai in Shinano Province in 1821 and in his youth worked as a common laborer and peddler before becoming a moneylender in Edo. As luck would have it, his shop was but a short distance from the mansion and office compound of Oguri Tadamasa, the shogunate's chief commissioner of finance from 1863 until 1868. Impressed by Minomura's quick way with the abacus and his canny ability to profit from currency manipulations, Oguri recommended the young man to the head of Mitsui's operations in Edo, who employed Minomura as his chief clerk. Minomura proved his worth to the merchant house in short order. As a bold advocate of revitalizing the military power of the Tokugawa regime and punishing dissident domains, Commissioner of Finance Oguri frequently imposed extraordinary levies on leading merchant houses to pay for his proposed military and financial reforms. When a series of such raids on its purse in 1866 threatened the survival of the Mitsui dry goods establishment, Minomura inveigled his former benefactor to reduce the shogunate's demands substantially. Gratitude, however, does not seem to have been part of Minomura's emotional repertoire. Just two years later, elevated to the Mitsui inner council, he anticipated the downfall of the shogunate and persuaded his firm to make generous loans to the imperial forces, which helped Saigo and his confederates to march on Edo and prevail in the Boshin Civil War. By the time those hostilities ended, Oguri was dead, the only Tokugawa official to be executed by the new Meiji government, and Minomura Rizaemon had emerged as the most influential member of the Mitsui house council. Minomura and the Mitsui family soon reaped a handsome reward for having placed their bet on the royalist side. Early in 1868 the new Meiji leadership entrusted the supervision of its tax receipts to the House of Mitsui. Preoccupied with beating back its opponents and extending its political control over the country, the regime gave the private business firm wide latitude in setting up procedures for collecting public tax revenues, with the result that until 1882, when Matsukata created the Bank of Japan, the House of Mitsui enjoyed interest-free use of tax receipts between the time of their payment and their eventual disbursement. That windfall prompted the house council to seek approval from the government to found its own bank, chartered in 1876 as Japan's first private commercial bank. Over the subsequent decades, as the Mitsui Bank opened branches in more than thirty major cities around the country, the house council took the deposits

acquired from its banking customers, added them to the profits derived from the dry goods business, and filled a war chest to bankroll Mitsui's expansion into trading and mining. Masuda Takashi successfully guided the firm in that new direction following Minomura's death in 1877. The son of a minor shogunal official, Masuda traveled to the West as part of the 1864 shogunal mission and later was befriended by the oligarch Inoue Kaoru, a Choshu activist who had helped pull together the alliance of dissident domains that toppled the shogunate. Blessed with an insider's connections, Masuda won a lucrative commission to provision government forces during the Satsuma Rebellion and later obtained exclusive rights for the recently organized Mitsui Trading Company to market all coal from the government's rich Miike Mines on Kyushu. When the oligarchs decided to sell the mining operations in 1888, Masuda bid aggressively to purchase them and then turned Miike coal into "Mitsui gold." Moving rapidly, Masuda acquired other mines, folded them into the newly incorporated Mitsui Mining Company, set up branch offices from Tianjin to Singapore, claimed Asia's markets as his own, and even drove his competitors from Australia. Nakamigawa Hikojiro mapped out Mitsui's next phase of development, steering the firm into new industrial endeavors and initiating the reorganization of the various Mitsui enterprises into a full-fledged *zaibatsu*.

Nakamigawa was a nephew of Fukuzawa Yukichi's and in 1869, at age fifteen, left his Kyushu home to travel to Edo, where he enrolled in his uncle's Keio Academy. After translating a number of works on economics, American politics, and world geography from English into Japanese, Nakamigawa journeyed to London in the mid-1870s. Upon his return to Japan, he found employment in the Ministry of Public Works, headed then by Inoue Kaoru, and followed his new mentor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1879. Nakamigawa quit government service in 1881, emerging the next year as the head editor of Fukuzawa's new daily newspaper, the *Jiji shinpō*, which the restless Nakamigawa left in 1887 to assume the presidency of a private railway company. In the summer of 1891, having racked up accomplishments in education, government service, journalism, and private business, Nakamigawa, upon the recommendation of longtime Mitsui confidant Inoue, was tapped to become the director of the Mitsui Bank, whose careless lending practices at the end of the 1880s had jeopardized its future successes. Nakamigawa made his presence felt immediately. Alarmed by the state of the bank's accounts, he abruptly ended the custom of granting unsecured loans to government officials, a consideration the bank had extended in gratitude for the numerous favors the House of Mitsui received from the Meiji regime. Moreover, he seized the private residences of certain high officials when they neglected to repay their mortgages as scheduled, and he recalled a shaky loan from the influential Higashi Honganji temple in Kyoto, making the banker the bete noire of Buddhist faithful everywhere when the temple's head abbot had to launch a nationwide collection campaign. Strengthened by his banking successes, Nakamigawa convinced fellow leaders within the Mitsui circle to begin investing in industrial enterprises. Foreseeing continued expansion in worldwide demand for textiles, he purchased several cotton-spinning companies, including the Kanegafuchi mill, which he built into one of the largest in Japan. Moreover, when the government announced a public auction of its Tomioka filature in the autumn of 1893, the Mitsui Bank snapped it up at a bargain basement price and, with additional investments to expand the scale of production, turned it into a profit-making venture. To those acquisitions, Nakamigawa added such firms as the Oji Paper Company and the Shibaura Engineering Works, laying the foundation for Mitsui's emergence in the twentieth century as one of the world's most powerful industrial combines. Just as he reformed the bank, so Nakamigawa became a staunch advocate of replacing the old Mitsui family council with what he saw as a more rational, modern form of business organization. Consequently, in 1893 he converted the bank, the Echigoya dry goods chain (later renamed the Mitsukoshi Department Stores), and the trading and mining operations into separate joint-stock companies and created an executive board to coordinate planning. Under the new structural arrangements, completed in 1909, members of the Mitsui family held all outstanding shares of every Mitsui firm, skilled career businessmen, recruited increasingly from Keio and other leading universities, managed the enterprises; and a holding company decided general policy, plotted common strategies, and made important management decisions about matters that affected all the allied firms. The other *zaibatsu* evolved in a manner similar to Mitsui's, although each developed its own distinctive corporate culture. Iwasaki Yataro, remembered as a hard-bitten man of no little arrogance, founded Mitsubishi, which became Japan's second largest *zaibatsu*. The son of a farmer in Tosa domain, Iwasaki in his youth purchased the rank of a minor samurai and in 1867 joined the domain's trading operations in Nagasaki, where Tosa had opened facilities in order to acquire Western technology and weapons. Iwasaki soon made a minor reputation for himself by settling a rather large debt to foreigners that Tosa's traders had accumulated over the years. In gratitude, when the domains passed out of existence in 1871, the daimyo of Tosa bestowed upon Iwasaki eleven ships, a considerable sum of cash, and the right to assume control of the domain's camphor, tea, dried bonito, and lumber enterprises. Iwasaki's good fortunes soared in 1874, when the Meiji oligarchs decided to sell thirteen steamships to him at a nominal price, since they believed that a well-equipped, privately owned marine shipping company, endowed with assistance from the government, would serve Japan's strategic needs as well as help correct its persistent balance of payment problems by reducing dependence on foreign carriers. In confirmation of the policy of private ownership-public support, the government in September 1875 transferred the balance of its modern steamships to Iwasaki and agreed to provide him with operating subsidies as well. Delighted, Iwasaki painted his soon-to-be-famous three-diamond logo on the ships and founded the Mitsubishi Steamship Company, headquartered in Tokyo. The vessels of the new company quickly dominated Japan's waters and, in accordance with instructions from the government, began service between Yokohama and Shanghai. Within a short time, to the shock of many, Iwasaki used his favorite tactic of deeply slashing prices to force the British Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) from the Shanghai-Yokohama route. Later Iwasaki's fleet took the name NYK (Nippon Yusen Kaisha) and inaugurated service to China, Korea, and Russia. By century's end NYK had expanded beyond its Asian base to become a world leader on routes that linked Japan's ports with those in Australia, the United States, and Europe. The Mitsubishi diamonds had become a symbol the world would remember. As the profits rolled in, Iwasaki quickly launched new endeavors. In 1878 he established the Tokyo Maritime Insurance Company, and two years later he began a warehousing operation and a moneylending enterprise that

functioned as a source of credit for Mitsubishi businesses and later evolved into the Mitsubishi Bank. The year after that, he added the government owned Takashima Coal Mine, located on a small island south of Nagasaki, to his growing collection of companies, and in 1887 Mitsubishi purchased the Nagasaki Shipyards from the Meiji government on easy terms. That same year the growing conglomerate ventured into real estate speculation by acquiring, again at a favorable price, a large tract of government land in downtown Tokyo just to the east of the Imperial Palace, which the firm later developed into the affluent Marunouchi business district. In 1893, Iwasaki Yanosuke, who had succeeded his younger brother, established Mitsubishi Limited. Owned outright by the Iwasaki family, the new company imposed centralized control over the activities of the various Mitsubishi endeavors, which were incorporated as divisions of the limited partnership. The enterprises of the Sumitomo and Yasuda *zaibatsu* clustered more tightly around a principal core business. The Sumitomo family constituted one of the great merchant houses of Osaka during the early modern era, building a fortune from the ore that it extracted from its Besshi Copper Mine and winning appointment as the official purveyor of copper to the shogunate. Production from the Besshi lode dipped considerably in the early nineteenth century, but the economic ebullience and promise of the Meiji era revitalized the Sumitomo family, which hired foreign engineers, introduced Western-style technology at the mine, and tripled output between 1868 and 1885. Its base in mining secure, the Sumitomo then branched out. By the end of the Meiji period its interests included banking, warehousing, and metal processing, and its general trading department exported copper, coal, tea, and raw silk, carried abroad on the vessels of the OSK shipping company, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, founded in 1882, when some fifty small firms came together under Sumitomo guidance. The Yasuda *zaibatsu* concentrated on banking. Its founder, Yasuda Zenjiro, claimed that he earned his first money peddling flowers in his native Toyama before going to Edo in 1864, where he became a street corner money changer. Yasuda showed remarkable instincts for mastering the cutthroat techniques of exchange manipulations in the confusing years surrounding the restoration, amassing profits that he used to found his own bank in 1880. An unabashed skinflint-he packed his own lunch for the office and left home at the crack of dawn in order to get the early – morning discount on Tokyo's new streetcars – Yasuda died one of Japan's wealthiest individuals, the principal owner of nineteen banks, three insurance companies, three railways, and an electric company.”

– *Japan: A Modern History* by James L. McClain, p. 230-235

Prominent Businessmen of the Mitsubishi Zaibatsu



Yataro Iwasaki
(1835-1885)
President of Mitsubishi
(1873-1885)



Yanosuke Iwasaki
(1851-1908)
President of Mitsubishi
(1885-1893); Governor of the
Bank of Japan (November 11,
1896-October 20, 1898)



Hisaya Iwasaki
(1865-1955)
President of Mitsubishi
(1893-1916); B.S. U. of
Pennsylvania



Koyata Iwasaki
(1879-1945)
President of Mitsubishi
(1916-1945); B.A. University of
Cambridge (Pembroke College)
1905

Note: First Sino-Japanese War occurred from August 1, 1894 to April 17, 1895.

Note: Spanish-American War occurred from April 25, 1898 to August 12, 1898.

Note: Russo-Japanese War occurred from February 8, 1904 to September 5, 1905.

Note: Second Sino-Japanese War occurred from July 7, 1937 to September 2, 1945.



Pre-1923 postcard with a view of the Mitsubishi headquarters in the Marunouchi district of Tokyo, Japan, looking towards the Imperial Palace.



Mitsubishi was one of the largest family-owned Japanese corporations, also known as zaibatsu (財閥), in Imperial Japan. Mitsubishi (三菱), Mitsui (三井), Sumitomo (住友), and Yasuda (安田) [banking and insurance firm] were four of the primary zaibatsu in Imperial Japan during World War II and an integral part of the Imperial Japanese military-industrial complex. Mitsubishi corporation in Imperial Japan is the equivalent of I.G. Farben corporation in Nazi Germany and Halliburton corporation in the United States of America.

The Man Who Started It All



Yataro Iwasaki
(1835-1885)

Yataro Iwasaki was the bold and ambitious entrepreneur who started Mitsubishi. The son of a provincial farmer, Yataro began his career in the employ of the Tosa clan. The clan held business interests in many parts of Japan, which whetted the young man's ambition.

Yataro's great grandfather had sold the family's samurai status to cover debts. Although well off, the ambitious young man knew that the only way to gain true power was education. At 19, Yataro followed an official of the Tosa clan to Edo (Tokyo) to further his studies.

The serious injury of Yataro's father in a dispute with the village headman brought him home from Edo a year later. When the local magistrate refused to hear his case, Yataro accused him of corruption. That landed him in prison for seven months.

Yataro Iwasaki studied under the reformist Toyo Yoshida. It was Yoshida who influenced him with ideas about opening up the then-closed nation and of development and industry. Through his association with Yoshida, Yataro landed a position as a clerk for the Tosa government. He saved diligently and bought back the family's samurai status.

Yoshida's assassination in 1862 caused Yataro to lose his connections. It wasn't until Yoshida's nephew gained status that he was appointed to the clan's trading office in Nagasaki. Yataro rose to the top position at the office in only three months.

His job was to buy ships, weapons, and ammunition for the Tosa clan. Yataro exported camphor oil, Japanese paper and other products to finance those purchases.

The 300-year rule of the Shogunate ended with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Osaka replaced Nagasaki as the main trading port and Yataro followed the action there. The new government forbid the clans to run businesses. Yataro took over the newly privatized Osaka office, known then as Tsukumo Trading Company, when the Tosa clan disbanded. He accepted part of the clan's debt in return for ships and trading rights.

The company adopted the name Mitsubishi in March 1873, when Yataro became president officially. "Mitsubishi" means the three-diamond crest which is a blend of the Tosa and Iwasaki emblems. He gradually acquired more ships and expanded its passenger and freight services. Yataro taught the sons of former aristocrats to put the customer first.

Expansion and diversification

Yataro Iwasaki was dutiful to the new Japanese government, as well as to his company. Mitsubishi provided the ships that carried Japanese troops to Taiwan. That earned him more ships and a large annual subsidy. He agreed, in turn, to carry mail and other government supplies. With government support, he was able to purchase more ships and increase Mitsubishi's shipping lines. That helped him drive two large foreign shippers out of the prosperous Shanghai route. The now-giant shipping company also carried troops to put down a rebellion in Kyushu.

Mitsubishi diversified fast. Yataro had the company invest in mining and ship repair. He started an exchange office, offering documentary financing. Yataro also leased the Nagasaki shipyard from the government, which was Mitsubishi's start in manufacturing.

The political winds turned against Mitsubishi when an influential patron in the government lost power. Competition with a rival Japanese shipping company nearly bankrupted both companies. The two companies agreed to halt their cutthroat competition in 1885 and they eventually merged to form NYK Line. Yataro, however, never saw the merger, as he lost his life to stomach cancer at the age of 50, just eight months before the merger.

Source: <http://www.mitsubishi.com/e/history/series/yataro/index.html>



Yanosuke Iwasaki
(1851-1908)

Yanosuke Iwasaki took over leadership of Mitsubishi on the death of his elder brother, Yataro. The second Mitsubishi president was the architect of diversification who set the group on the path it follows today. The second president of Mitsubishi grew up in an era of rapid change. Seventeen years younger than his brother, he reached adulthood just as Japan did away with its antiquated feudal system of government.

The two Iwasaki brothers were close, despite their opposing personalities. Where Yataro was hotheaded and emotional, always accepting a challenge, Yanosuke was mild, collected, and accommodating. Yataro influenced his brother's education by enrolling him in a Tosa clan school, where the younger Iwasaki proved an astute student.

At 18, Yanosuke went to study in Osaka where his brother was working. At Yataro's urging, Yanosuke later traveled to study in the United States. Yanosuke is said to have studied U.S. history and English with a private instructor in New York.

The death of his father meant that Yanosuke was needed in Japan. Yanosuke joined the newly formed Mitsubishi Shokai, where his elder brother promptly appointed him vice president.

Knowledge of the workings of Mitsubishi, along with first-hand dealings with people from other nations, helped Yanosuke in business. He proved an invaluable resource to Yataro. And he strove to modernize the company.

President

Yanosuke Iwasaki became president of Mitsubishi in 1885. The company was in the midst of bitter competition with a rival shipping company. Yanosuke accepted government mediation, transferring Mitsubishi's shipping business to the new Nippon Yusen.

Loss of Mitsubishi's shipping operations motivated further diversification. Yanosuke shifted from a sea- to land-based operation. He formed Mitsubishi Sha, or Mitsubishi Company, in 1886. It centered its business around the mining and shipbuilding operations that Yataro started.

Yanosuke's Mitsubishi put a lot of effort into the mining business. It purchased coal and metal mines and invested in modernizing equipment and mining techniques. The Nagasaki shipyard, which Yataro had leased from the government, also became Mitsubishi property in 1887.

In perhaps his most famous act as president, Yanosuke purchased a field near the Imperial Palace in 1890. Construction started two years later on Japan's first modern business street. People would come to call the Marunouchi area a block of London.

Yanosuke also took over management of the 119th National Bank. Mitsubishi Bank would later absorb its operations. He also established the forerunner of Mitsubishi Logistics, Tokyo Warehouse.

With the enactment of Japan's commercial code in 1893, Mitsubishi reorganized into Mitsubishi Goshi Kaisha (Limited Partnership). Yanosuke then stepped down as president in favor of his nephew, Hisaya. Although president for only eight years, Yanosuke had considerable influence for years to come. Hisaya sought his advice on important Mitsubishi affairs.

Yanosuke also held government positions. He represented the business community in the Imperial Assembly. And the prime minister recommended him for the post of governor-general of the Bank of Japan. There he oversaw Japan's changeover to the gold standard.

Yanosuke Iwasaki had set Mitsubishi on the course of diversity that enlivens the community of companies today. He passed away in 1908 at 57 at his Tokyo home.

Source: <http://www.mitsubishi.com/e/history/series/yanosuke/index.html>

The Modernizer



Hisaya Iwasaki
(1865-1955)

Hisaya Iwasaki ran Mitsubishi for 22 years. The third Iwasaki president put the company on the path of modernization in both technology and corporate culture.

The third president of Mitsubishi was the son of the company's founder, Yataro Iwasaki. Hisaya Iwasaki was born on the island of Shikoku in 1865 and moved to Tokyo at the age of nine to attend school at Keio Gijuku. At Keio, he received personal instruction from the school's founder, Yukichi Fukuzawa. That Meiji-era scholar and promoter of western learning's influence played a big role in Hisaya's development. At 12, Hisaya transferred to the Mitsubishi Commercial School that his father founded. There, he studied commerce and economics from western texts.

After his father's death, 20-year-old Hisaya traveled to the United States to study. He spent five years there and earned a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

On his return to Japan, Hisaya became vice president of Mitsubishi under his uncle Yanosuke. He assumed the mantle of president two years later when the company reorganized into Mitsubishi Goshi Kaisha (Limited Partnership). As president, Hisaya proved a gentle, modest man of strict ethical standards. He demanded purity of character and fairness in actions throughout Mitsubishi operations. And under his leadership the company continued to grow.

Modernization

Japanese industry in Hisaya's time was modernizing rapidly to catch up to the West. Mitsubishi had diversified widely under Yanosuke, and that diversification was beginning to pay off in rapid growth. In mining, Hisaya continued Yanosuke's drive to purchase mines that yielded the coal and copper that industry needed. He also purchased the government-owned Osaka Refinery to process copper. Exports of Mitsubishi's mineral products were an important source of funding for further diversification.

Hisaya also expanded Mitsubishi's shipbuilding business. He injected funds to expand and modernize the Nagasaki Shipyard. The company opened two new shipyards in Kobe and Shimo-noseki, making Mitsubishi Japan's largest private-sector shipbuilder.

Real estate business, too, grew under Hisaya. He continued Yanosuke's plan of developing Tokyo's Marunouchi business district and began to offer rental office space there. Banking and trading operations also grew in size and importance. Management became a challenge as Mitsubishi grew in size and diversity. So, Hisaya made what was a very progressive decision for the time: he had the business divisions adopt autonomous accounting systems. That provided the basis for the modern system of operational divisions.

Hisaya was also active in all-new industries. He started coke production, the company's first venture in carbon-based chemicals. Overseas, Mitsubishi built a steel plant in northern Korea. And he backed other entrepreneurial businesses, such as Kirin Brewery.

The outbreak of World War I meant a big jump in business for Mitsubishi. Hisaya took the opportunity provided by continued growth to retire in 1916. His cousin Koyata, son of second president Yanosuke Iwasaki, took over the presidency. After Mitsubishi, Hisaya devoted himself to running agricultural and cattle businesses and Mitsubishi Paper Mills. Hisaya loved the outdoors and ran several farms. One of those, Koiwai Farms, is a major dairy producer even today. Hisaya also operated agricultural and cattle projects in Korea, Taiwan, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Brazil, and other places.

Hisaya lost most of his personal property in the breakup of Japan's zaibatsu financial and industrial combines after World War II. He led the rest of his life in seclusion on his Suehiro Farm. Hisaya passed away in 1955 at the age of 90.

Source: <http://www.mitsubishi.com/e/history/series/hisaya/index.html>

The Last President



Koyata Iwasaki
(1879-1945)

Koyata Iwasaki was the fourth and last president of a unified Mitsubishi. He took Mitsubishi public and turned the company into a giant corporate group centered on heavy and chemical industries. Koyata also articulated the business principles that continue to guide Mitsubishi companies today.

The eldest son of Mitsubishi's second president, Yanosuke Iwasaki, Koyata was born in Tokyo in 1879. He proved his ability early, getting high marks in elementary school and subsequently. He entered the University of Tokyo, but dropped out in his first year to study in England at the University of Cambridge's Pembroke College. There, he occupied himself with history, geography, sociology, and other subjects, earning a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1905. Koyata also gained an introduction at Cambridge to idealistic British concepts of social reform, which later influenced his approach to management.

Koyata became vice president of Mitsubishi on his return from study abroad. He assumed the presidency in 1916 at the height of the company's surging growth during World War I and headed the organization for the next 29 years. His leadership transformed Mitsubishi into a corporate group of more than 70 companies under the umbrella of the Mitsubishi headquarters.

New companies and new fields

Koyata coped with Mitsubishi's growing size and diversity by spinning off business divisions as separate companies. The mining, shipbuilding, banking, trading, and real estate divisions became joint-stock companies under the umbrella of the holding company. Management autonomy gave those divisions greater latitude for growth and development than would have been possible in the old organization.

The rapid industrial development that took place in Japan while Europe was engulfed in World War I centered on and heavy and chemical industries. Mitsubishi fostered ventures in electrical machinery, aircraft, oil refining, chemicals, and steel making, among others.

Mitsubishi also was active in international business. Koyata believed strongly in learning from other nations. Under his leadership, Mitsubishi assimilated technology, financial expertise, and management know-how from the world's best companies. He made alliances with companies worldwide, including joint ventures for securing world-class technology. Mitsubishi engineers improved on the imported technologies and also began to achieve original breakthroughs. Excellence in technology became a distinguishing strength for Mitsubishi.

Going public

Koyata recognized that loosening the Iwasaki family's direct control of Mitsubishi would help the organization grow. He made stock of Mitsubishi subsidiaries available to the public. In 1937, he even incorporated the holding company as a joint-stock corporation. Nearly one-half of the company's stock passed into the hands of investors other than the Iwasaki family and Mitsubishi companies.

A unique mix of British idealism and Japanese national consciousness defined Koyata's management. One of his legacies is the three corporate principles--modeled after Koyata's instructions--that still steer management at the Mitsubishi companies: corporate responsibility to society, integrity and fairness, and global understanding through business.

The end of the second world war brought to a close the Iwasaki chapter in Mitsubishi history. The Allied occupation forces demanded the breakup of Mitsubishi and other large family-controlled corporate groups. Mitsubishi headquarters closed in 1946, 70-some years after the organization began. Koyata's health deteriorated under the occupation, and he died at 66 in December 1945. He left behind this poem:

Autumn, a season of great variety
A diseased goose, motionless
Lies still on the frosty ground

Source: <http://www.mitsubishi.com/e/history/series/koyata/index.html>

Prominent Businessmen of the Mitsui Zaibatsu



Saburosuke Mitsui
Head of the Mitsui Family



Shigeaki Ikeda
A.B. Harvard University 1895
Governor of the Bank of Japan (1937);
Minister of Finance (1938-1939);
Member, Imperial Privy Council (1941)



Takuma Dan
Head of the Mitsui Financial Group

Saburosuke Mitsui (1850-1912), Businessman. Born in Kyoto as the eldest son of Takayoshi Mitsui. In 1872, he went to the United States with five other children of the Mitsui Family to study. After returning to Japan, he engaged in various businesses controlled by the Mitsui Family. In 1887, he became head of the Family. In 1892, he became president when the mining business of Mitsui was organized into an unlimited partnership. From then on, he devoted himself to the family's mining business, the construction of Miike Harbor and other projects.

Source: National Diet Library, Japan; <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/198.html?c=11>

Shigeaki Ikeda (1867-1950), Businessman and financier. Born in Yamagata, the son of a samurai of the Yonezawa Clan. He studied at the Keio Gijuku, and **graduated from Harvard University in 1895**. After returning to Japan, he worked at the newspaper company Jiji-Shinpo-Sha, and then entered the Mitsui Bank, Ltd. He became the top managing director in 1919, and boosted the bank to the top in the Japanese financial world. After Takuma Dan was assassinated, he became the standing director of Mitsui Gomei and implemented Mitsui Financial Reforms such as offering shareholdings to the public and introducing an age retirement system. He was appointed Governor of the Bank of Japan in 1937, Financial Minister and Minister of Commerce and Industry in the first Kono cabinet in 1938, and Councilor of the Privy Council in 1941.

Source: National Diet Library, Japan; <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/229.html?c=11>

Takuma Dan (1858-1932), Businessman and leader of the Mitsui Financial Group. Born in Fukuoka as the son of a samurai of the Fukuoka Clan. He went to the United States in 1871 and studied mining engineering until returning to Japan in 1878. Joining the Industry Ministry in 1884, he worked at the Miike Coal Mines. When the Miike Coal Mines were sold to Mitsui in 1888, Dan became General Manager of Miike Coal Mine Company, where he exercised his capabilities as a wheeler and dealer. In 1899, he became a Doctor of Engineering. When Mitsui Gomei Kaisha was established as the headquarters of Mitsui financial group in 1909, he was selected as Councilor and later promoted to Director in 1914. While leading Mitsui, he concurrently undertook many executive posts in the financial world, including Director of the Industry Club of Japan. In 1928, he was elevated in rank to danshaku (baron). Dan was assassinated by a member of the rightist group Ketsumeidan (League of Blood) in 1932.

Source: National Diet Library, Japan; <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/291.html?c=11>



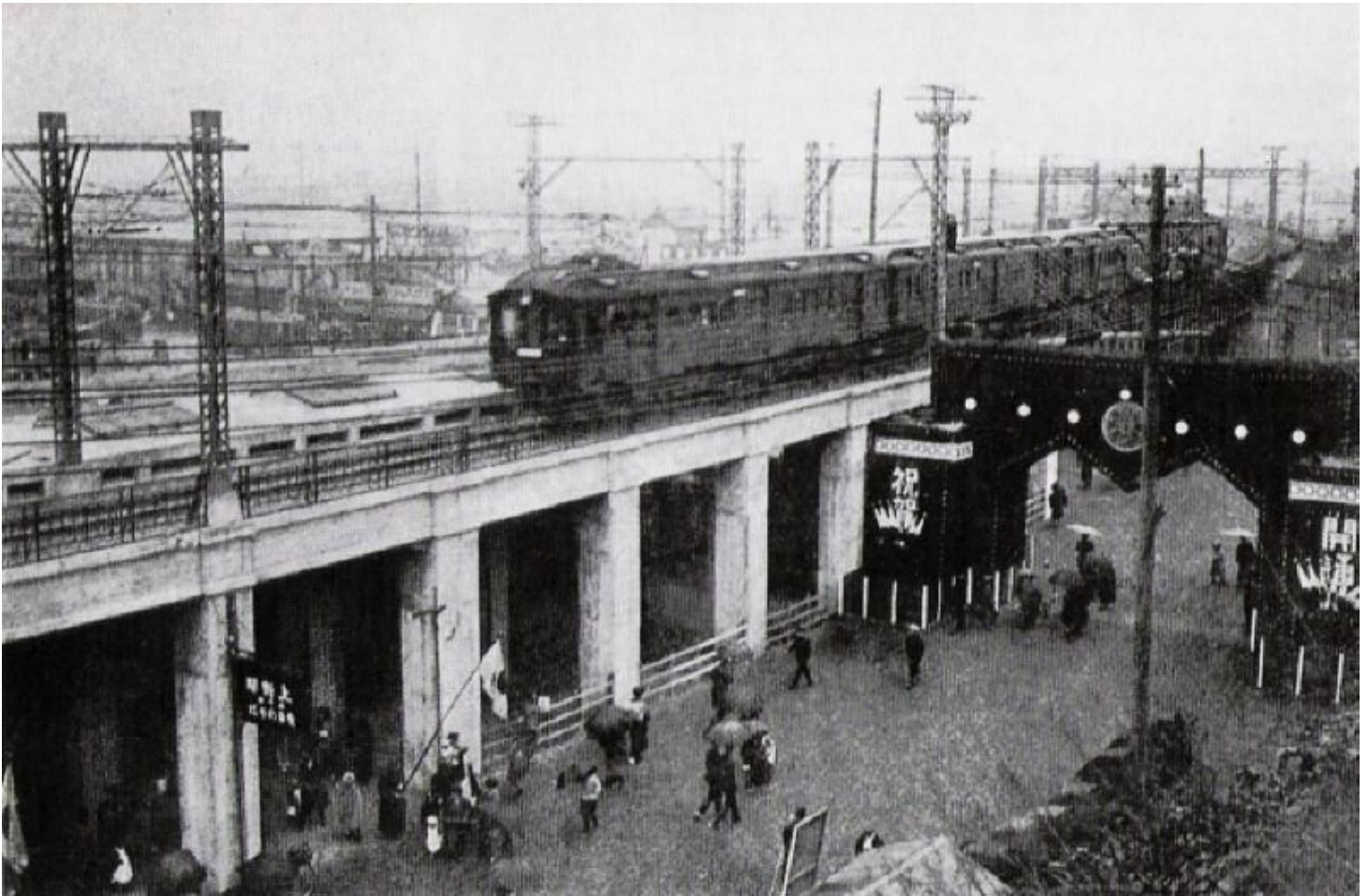
銀座通りの盛観

歴史写真 昭和8年10月号

Ginza district of Tokyo, Japan in October 1933. Wako Department Store is located at the upper left corner of the intersection in the foreground.



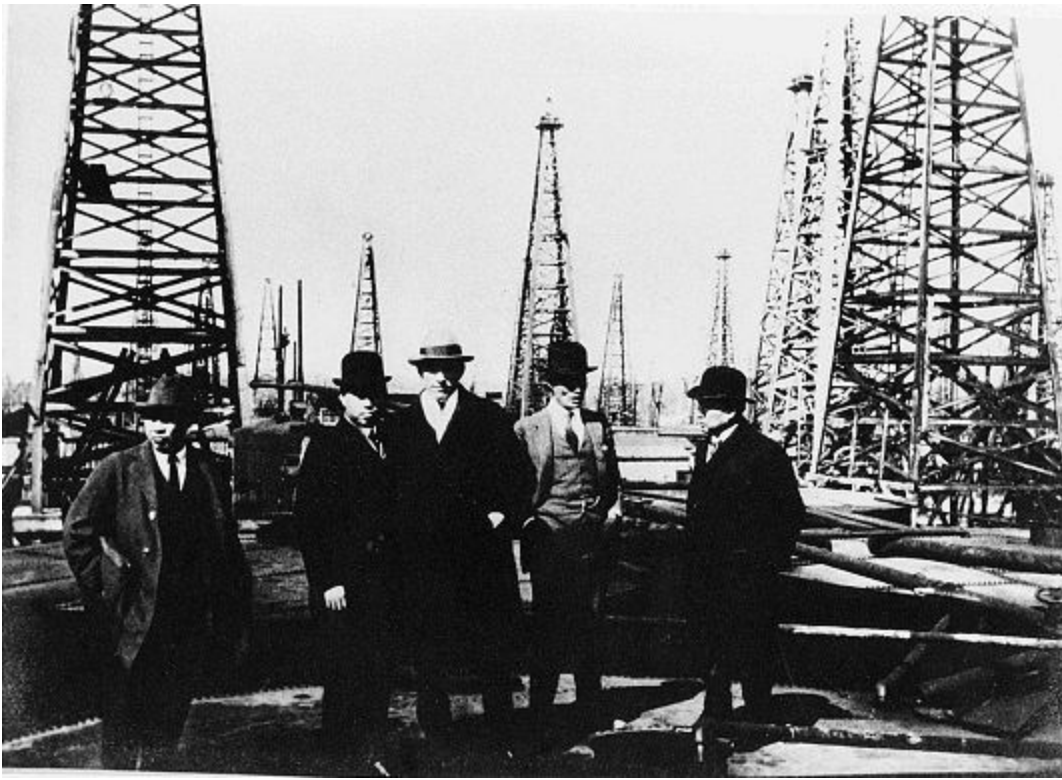
A view of a busy intersection in downtown Tokyo, Japan in the 1920s



Yamanote (Passenger) Railway Line in Tokyo, Japan in 1925



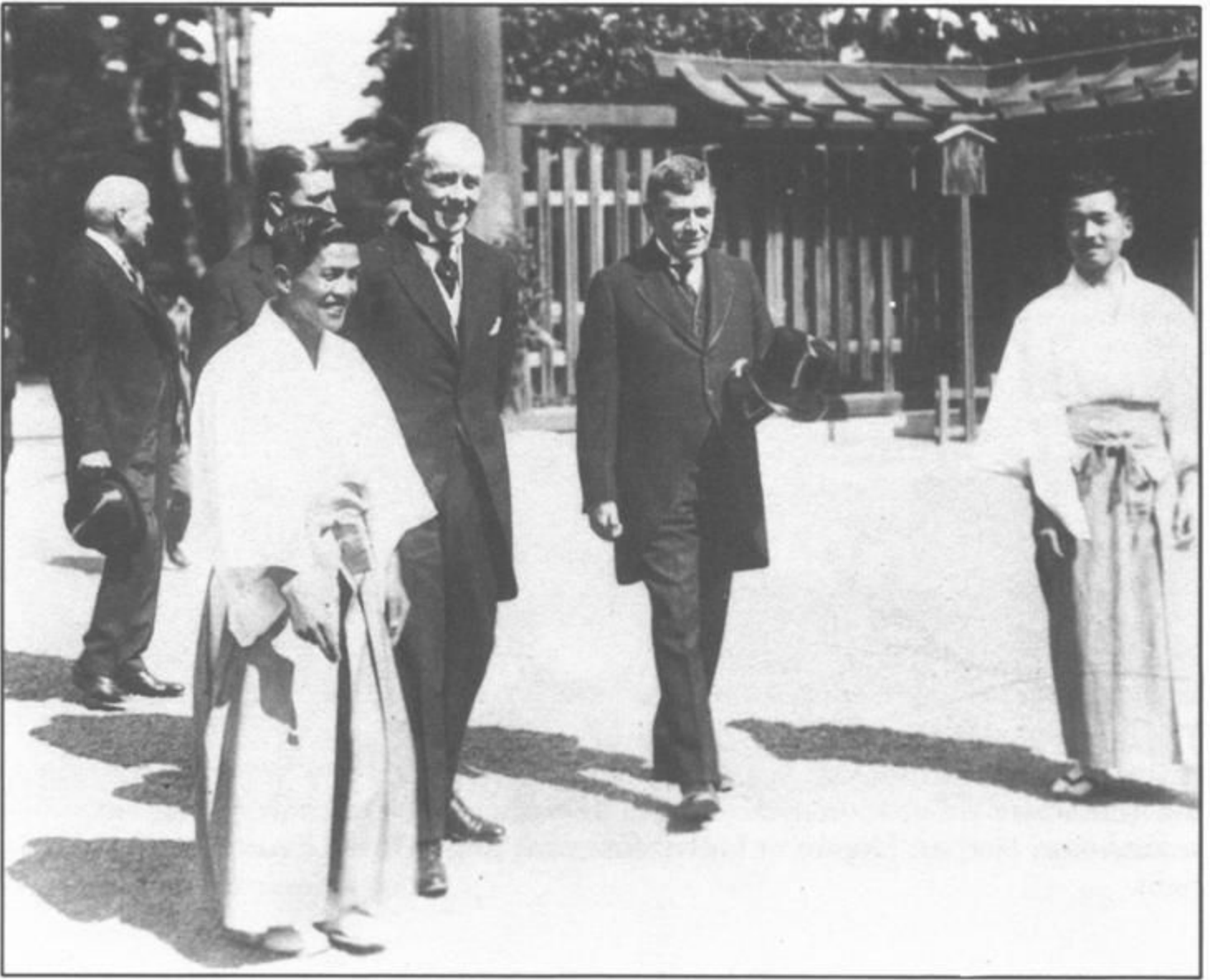
Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo in the early 1900s



Visitors at the Orange Oil Field, near Orange, Texas, U.S.A., circa 1923, photo taken by Shunkichi Nomura. From left to right: Katsunori Wakasa (Engineer, later changed to Takahashi), **Isoroku Yamamoto** (Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy), unknown (possibly Commander Kaku, Imperial Japanese Navy), Kichimatsu Kishi, and Kenji Ide (Admiral, Imperial Japanese Navy) (Photo: http://hirasaki.net/Family_Stories/Takahashi.htm)



Visitors to the Orange Petroleum Company, Orange, Texas, U.S.A. circa 1923, photo taken by Shunkichi Nomura. From left to right: **Isoroku Yamamoto** (Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy) Kichimatsu Kishi, Kenji Ide (Admiral, Imperial Japanese Navy), unknown (possibly Commander Kaku, Imperial Japanese Navy), Katsunori Wakasa (later changed to Takahashi, Engineer). **Japan was dependent on foreign oil and relied on American petroleum to sustain its economy and military.** (Photo: http://hirasaki.net/Family_Stories/Takahashi.htm)



TWL and Jeremiah Smith Jr. at Meiji Shinto shrine in Tokyo, 1927. J. P. Morgan & Co. had organized the huge loan to Japan for reconstruction after the 1924 earthquake. Now the Japanese had a new financial proposal to assist their expansionist strategy in Manchuria.

American banker Thomas W. Lamont (TWL) (third from right), a partner of New York City banking firm J.P. Morgan & Co., and American lawyer Jeremiah Smith Jr. (second from right), a member of Herrick, Smith, Donald & Farley law firm in Boston, visit the Meiji (Shinto) Shrine (明治神宮) in Tokyo (東京), Japan (日本) in October 1927. Thomas W. Lamont and Jeremiah Smith Jr. were members of the **Council on Foreign Relations**, a private organization in New York City that promotes globalization, in 1927. Both Thomas W. Lamont and Jeremiah Smith Jr. earned a Bachelor of Arts degree at Harvard University in 1892.

(Source: *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont)

Excerpts from *The Ambassador from Wall Street* by Edward M. Lamont

“Despite its unwillingness to make loans to China the consortium remained in existence. The American and British governments thought that it had been valuable in curbing unilateral expansion by Japan in China. Moreover, the improved relations between Japan and America, given impetus by Japan’s membership in the consortium, heightened the likelihood of Japanese borrowing in the United States, a prospect that whetted the bankers’ appetites. Lamont had corresponded with Governor Inouye of the Bank of Japan since his visit there in 1920. The Japanese were especially interested in obtaining financing to build the South Manchuria Railroad. The State Department, however, viewed this enterprise as Japan’s chief instrument to develop and dominate Manchuria – to the exclusion of American and other foreign interests. The American government emphatically did not want this project assisted with American capital. Nor did Lamont think that it was advisable for Morgan to associate itself with Japanese expansion on the China mainland in its first loan for Japan. Accordingly, he turned aside Inouye’s suggestion that the Morgan bank organize a loan for the South Manchuria Railway, to be guaranteed by the Japanese government. The first loan, Lamont wrote Inouye in March 1922, should be “something more purely Japanese, rather than intimately relating to the mainland of Asia.” Furthermore, Kuhn, Loeb & Company had served earlier as the American investment banker for the Imperial Japanese Government, and it was not proper for Morgan to intrude on this existing banker-client relationship. “We have in this country and in Wall Street the same unwritten code that I presume exists with you... The leading houses of the community are very scrupulous in refraining from inviting business from one another’s clients.” Mainly true, but artful and quiet suggestion, perhaps citing changed circumstances such as greatly increased capital needs, could lead a client to switch banks on his own. At the time Lamont contemplated that the Morgan bank might do its first Japanese bond issue with a blue-chip private institution such as the Yokohama Specie Bank rather than the Japanese government.” – *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan’s Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 195

“When Kengo Mori, the former Japanese finance commissioner in New York with whom Lamont had negotiated the 1924 loan, proposed that Lamont revisit Japan in 1927, TWL was happy to oblige. The time was ripe to make a goodwill trip to strengthen the firm’s relations with the government and business community. More foreign bankers were visiting Japan to seek out promising business opportunities, and no Morgan partner had been there since Lamont’s earlier trip. The Morgan bank was held in high esteem in Japan for organizing the urgently needed loan for reconstruction after the 1923 earthquake, and Morgan had subsequently undertaken smaller reconstruction loans for the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama. **Furthermore, the Japanese government considered Lamont to be a loyal friend.** Just months earlier, TWL had told a Japan Society dinner, “I believe in the Japanese people. Nothing will ever arise in my judgment to break the traditional friendship between America and Japan. That talk of war between these two countries which we sometimes hear is both wicked and silly.” Prior to his departure Lamont met with Secretary of State Frank Kellogg at his vacation office in St. Paul, Minnesota. The secretary was pleased with the current state of U.S.-Japan relations; the Japanese had shown a very cooperative attitude at the recent Geneva Naval Disarmament conference. He assured Lamont that the U.S. government would support new American loans to Japan... The Lamont party sailed from Vancouver on the *Empress of Russia* on September 22 [1927]. This time it was an all-male contingent – Lamont; Jeremiah Smith, Jr., his friend and legal adviser; and Martin Egan (both Smith and Egan had accompanied Lamont on his 1920 trip to the Orient); Edward Saunders, a secretary, from the Morgan staff; Dr. E.P. Eglee to minister to the medical needs of the group; and George Metcalfe, Lamont’s valet. The *Empress* docked in Yokohama on October 3, where the Lamont party was met by a large welcoming delegation, headed by the mayor and a horde of reporters... A press release handed out by Martin Egan stated: *Mr. Lamont is not visiting Japan to discuss any financial operation, but in response to invitations that he has received from many of his friends here active in banking and finance.* The Japanese press remained skeptical. The Japanese government had seen to it that Lamont was warmly welcomed. As the visitors drove to the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo from Yokohama harbor, troops of schoolchildren lining the streets shouted “Banzai, Lamontosan” as the party passed by. Large lithographs of Lamont were displayed in shop windows along the route identifying him as “the savior of Japan.” On the second evening of their visit, Governor Inouye of the bank of Japan and Dr. Takuna Dan, managing director of the Mitsui holding company hosted a dinner at the Bankers’ Club in Lamont’s honor attended by ninety government officials, industrialists, and bankers. In his remarks TWL was generous in his praise of Japan and its people. After the great earthquake, the Western world had marveled at the vigor and success of Japan’s leaders in overcoming the disaster and at the industry and courage of the Japanese people in rebuilding their country. Furthermore, he believed that the Japanese economy was recovering well following a banking panic and business depression earlier in the year, a view his audience was delighted to hear from the prominent American financier. The *Japan Times* headlined his story on the dinner: “World has Faith in Japan, States Thomas Lamont. Tokyo Bankers and Business Magnates Welcome Great Financier.” Each day was fully booked. The prime minister, Baron Tanaka, gave a lunch attended by a number of cabinet ministers and former prime ministers. The powerful Mitsui family, American ambassador Charles MacVeagh, and the Harvard Club of Japan entertained the visitors, and the mayor of Tokyo gave them a guided city tour to observe the progress of reconstruction since the earthquake. TWL and his friends also made sightseeing trips to other parts of the country, and Lamont described a sybaritic experience in Kyoto in a letter to the family... The Japanese government took the occasion of TWL’s visit to confer special honors on him and his New York banking colleagues who had participated in floating the earthquake loans. Imperial decorations were awarded to Lamont, and in absentia to J.P. Morgan; Mortimer Schiff and Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb; Charles E. Mitchell of the National City; and George F. Baker, Jr., of the First National. Lamont received the highest-ranking decoration of the group: the Second Class Order of the Rising Sun with Double Rays.”

– *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 231-233

“At 10:15 on October 5 [, 1927], TWL [Thomas W. Lamont], attired in a long black frock coat with the insignia of his new decoration in his button hole, was escorted to the audience chamber of the Imperial Palace to be presented to Emperor Hirohito. The young monarch had ascended to the Chrysanthemum Throne the year before. Lamont described the event in a letter home: In accordance with instructions, I made a slight bow just before I crossed the threshold of the audience chamber; a second just over the threshold, a third half way up the chamber, and the fourth about four feet in front of the Emperor, each bow being a little more pronounced than the one before it. The Emperor stood at one end of the room clothed in military khaki, a young man of medium Japanese size with heavy eyebrows and rather protruding lips. He had a pleasant and cordial expression. At his right stood one of the Japanese noblemen, and at his left fairly close to him Admiral [Isoroku] Yamamoto, a very jolly Japanese admiral who was to act as interpreter. After I had made my last bow to the Emperor he gave me a cordial handshake.

The Emperor: I am very glad to welcome to Japan and to the palace so distinguished an American as yourself.

Lamont: Your majesty, it was very good of you to welcome me so cordially. I have come seven thousand miles in order to show to you and to your people the good will which my house and our friends have for Japan.

The Emperor: I want to take this occasion to express my personal gratitude and that of our people for the great assistance which you rendered to us in the difficult days following the earthquake.

Lamont: Your majesty, we were glad to be of any assistance and it was the courage the Japanese people showed that in large measure served to encourage us to undertake the heavy loan operation.”

– *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 233-234

“After exchanging a few pleasantries the Emperor and Lamont shook hands, and TWL walked backwards from the royal presence, carefully remembering to repeat his ceremonial bows. Not surprisingly, the Japanese had a more concrete purpose in mind for Lamont's visit than the exchange of mutual expressions of goodwill. On the day before his audience with the Emperor, Lamont received from Governor Inouye a detailed study of the South Manchuria Railway and its financial requirements. The governor proposed that the Morgan bank organize a \$30 million loan for the SMR, which the Japanese government would guaranty. The SMR, controlled and substantially owned by the Japanese government, needed funds to expand its 686-mile system in the Chinese province of Manchuria. There were vast areas of productive agricultural land in the region, and Japan's requirements for imported foodstuffs were mounting steadily. The state of China's administration – divided, corrupt, inefficient, and torn by strife – ruled out any possibility that China could develop the province itself. In fact, the Japanese felt that the presence of the SMR in Manchuria was an important stabilizing influence. Many thousands of Chinese had fled the banditry and lawless ness of other regions to settle in Manchuria. Lamont cabled Morgan outlining the proposal and stating his support for the loan. Morgan agreed, and the coded cables flew back and forth developing the terms and conditions. Lamont suggested that the SMR bond issue could be offered as early as November 1. After his conversation with Secretary Kellogg in St. Paul, he was confident that the State Department would support the loan, even though it had opposed American loans for the SMR in the past.”

– *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 234-235

“The Morgan bank, headquartered in the low fortress-like building at the juncture of Wall and Broad streets, was commonly referred to as “the Corner.” Directly across Wall Street were the old Sub-Treasury Building and the U.S. Assay Office; the New York Stock Exchange and the Bankers Trust tower stood at the southwest and northwest corners of the intersection. Most of the important New York banks and investment firms were within a few hundred yards. J.P. Morgan & Co. was truly at the financial center of the nation and deserved its premium location. Comparative underwriting statistics understated the powerful influence of the firm, reflecting its standing at the summit of the financial community for over three decades. Its political connections were at the highest levels in Washington and London. **In a real sense the Morgan bank was the gatekeeper controlling access to the huge sums of capital needed by the biggest and best corporations and foreign governments. U.S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric, A.T.&T., Great Britain, France, and the list went on – were all Morgan clients.** Bankers regularly speculated as to how the Corner would regard a proposal; Morgan's support or rejection could make or break a deal.”

– *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan's Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 239

“On November 10 [1927], Lamont called on Under Secretary of State Robert E. Olds to present the case for approval of the South Manchuria Railway [SMR] loan, and he summarized his views in a letter to Olds the following day. Based on his conversation with Secretary Kellogg in St. Paul, said Lamont, he presumed the State Department would not object to the loan. TWL [Thomas W. Lamont] believed that the SMR presence was a stabilizing influence in Manchuria to the benefit of the large Chinese population growing steadily through immigration from other parts of the country. **It was Lamont’s firm belief that Japan had abandoned military force as a means of expansion in Asia and had no imperialist design on its neighbor.** Friendship and strong ties with the United States were important to Japan, and the SMR project provided an excellent opportunity for the two countries to work together for their mutual benefit and that of China. On November 17, Lamont, accompanied by Charles E. Mitchell, president of National City Bank, which would be a major participant in the loan, met with Secretary of State Kellogg, Under Secretary Olds, and Assistant Secretary Nelson T. Johnson in Washington to go over the matter again. The State Department had opposed SMR loans in the past because it believed that Japanese expansion in Manchuria would block the development of American interest in the area. But the Japanese had not interfered with American business in the region, and Governor Inouye confirmed the Japanese government’s nondiscriminatory policy toward American interest in Manchuria in a cable which Lamont had suggested that he send. The reality was that Manchuria held little investment interest for Americans. The State Department, with the support of Ambassador MacVeagh in Tokyo, was now leaning toward approving the loan. But the SMR loan was no longer a secret in the Far East or the United States, and the American press picked up the story quickly, pinpointing the Lamont-Mitchell meeting with Secretary Kellogg to discuss the proposal. Over the next few weeks public opposition to the SMR loan mounted. First, the Chinese minister to the United States lodged a protest with the State Department on behalf of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce and similar groups. Official protests against the proposed loan were made by representatives of both the Kuomintang and Peking regimes. A boycott of American goods in China was threatened, and articles opposing the loan began to appear in liberal American journals. Regarding the SMR loan the *Nation* stated: “It is an insult to China, a provocation to Russia...almost an act of war.” Various associations – church groups, peace organizations, and Chinese friendship societies – joined the hue and cry. Assisting the South Manchuria Railway was viewed as aiding a Japanese move toward further penetration and dominance over Manchuria. Even the directors of the Standard Oil Company advised Lamont against the loan because of their fear of a Chinese boycott of American imports if it was consummated. The State Department was cooling toward the loan. On December 1, Lamont cabled Inouye that while the department had not formally objected to the proposition, department officials were uneasy because of the surge of protests about the transaction. The department would like to have the loan postponed until “the storm had blown over...It would be tactful both from your and our point of view to be able to gratify their wishes in this way.” Furthermore, the unfavorable press had “soured the market” for the loan. Lamont recommended that the loan negotiations should be quietly suspended until a later time, and Inouye concurred in his cable two days later. Lamont and Inouye also agreed to say nothing to the press about the status of the loan, but on December 5 both the *New York World* and the *Journal of Commerce* reported that the bankers had tabled the SMR loan because of the storm of protest on behalf of China that it had provoked. **Lamont and his partners simply refused to comment on the subject. Lamont was serious about pursuing the SMR loan at a more opportune time, and he continued to promote his view of Japan’s liberal and peaceful intentions in the Far East.** In an address at a dinner of the Institute for Pacific Relations on December 13, 1927, TWL said that in their own self-interest the Chinese should “compose their differences to the point of jointly inviting the amicable co-operation of foreign interests, the Americans, British, and Japanese.” Lamont added, **“We shall see no wars over Japanese interests on the mainland of Asia.”** – *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan’s Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 236-237

“Just before leaving for Egypt Lamont had written Governor Inouye his view s on how the South Manchuria Railway loan request should be revised and resubmitted later in the spring, when the anti-SMR clamor had died down. The amount should be reduced to \$20 million to be used solely for refunding maturing debt. Thus Morgan and its associates could not be charged with helping to expand the railway itself. All publicity about the SMR should stress its good relations with the Chinese authorities, the “contentment and prosperity” of the Chinese immigrants in Manchuria, and “their desire to have the Japanese continue economic development.” Inouye concurred, and on April 18 Lamont submitted the recast loan proposal to the Department of State, which saw no reason to object to the normal refunding operation. On the same day Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan sent 5,000 troops to Shantung, allegedly to protect Japanese nationals in the Chinese province, while the army of General Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang regime in the south, drove northward to depose the Peking government. The Chinese and Japanese forces clashed at Tsinan on May 3, and several days later the Japanese seized the city. In the face of this flagrant example of Japanese readiness to employ military force in China, the State Department did a volte-face and withdrew approval of the SMR loan. The incident dealt a blow to Lamont’s credibility at the department as the expert who had proclaimed that Japan had forsaken militarism. **But although the SMR loan was dead, TWL [Thomas W. Lamont] had no thought of cooling his warm relations with Morgan’s client, the Japanese government.”**

– *The Ambassador from Wall Street: The Story of Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan’s Chief Executive* by Edward M. Lamont, p. 243-244



Map of Imperial Japan, Manchukuo, and the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere”



Mitsubishi Zero Model 52 (A6M5) (Mitsubishi Zero Sengoku Fighter). The Mitsubishi A6M Zero was a Japanese fighter aircraft of World War II. (Photo: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mitsubishi_Zero-Yasukuni.jpg)



Japanese students practice abacus (Japanese calculator) in Japanese government schools (“public schools”) during the 1920s.



Left: A group of Japanese farmers live in poverty in Japan during the 1920s. Japan imported a significant amount of food from Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan during the 1920s and 1930s.

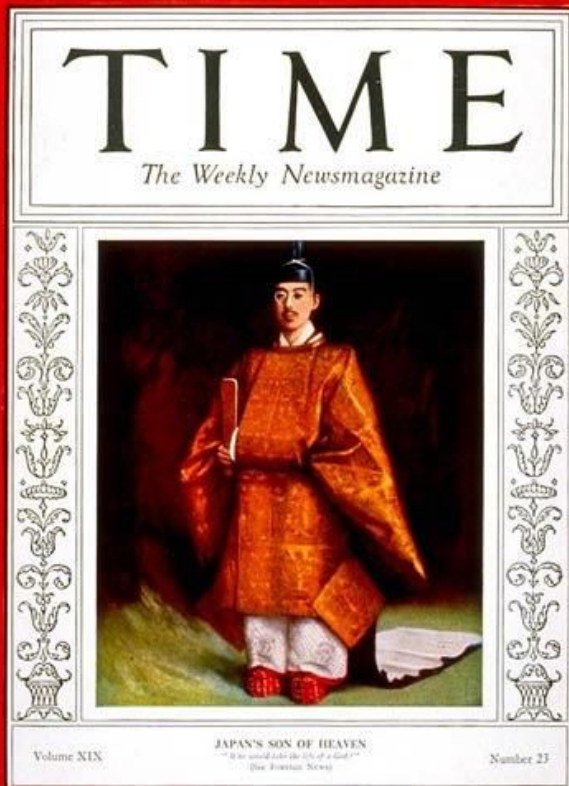
Right: Japanese women in the cities, including Tokyo, dress fashionably in European outfits during the 1920s. The Imperial Japanese government under the Taisho Emperor tolerated the liberalization of Japanese society during the early 1920s; the Japanese Communist Party was established in Japan in 1922 despite attempts by the Imperial Japanese government to outlaw the party.



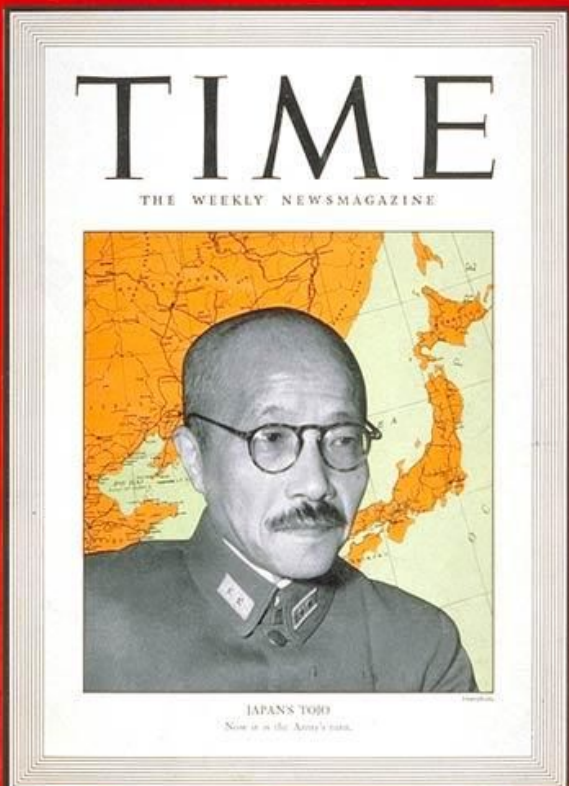
The Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Japan



Headquarters of the Navy Ministry of Japan in Tokyo, Japan



Left: Emperor Hirohito of Japan (裕仁), who ascended to the throne as the Showa Emperor (昭和天皇) on December 25, 1926, appears on the front cover of the June 6, 1932 edition of *Time* magazine. Emperor Hirohito of Japan was born on April 29, 1901 and died on January 7, 1989. Right: Prince Fumimaro Konoe (近衛 文麿), who served as Prime Minister of Japan (1940-1941), appears on the front cover of the July 22, 1940 edition of *Time* magazine.

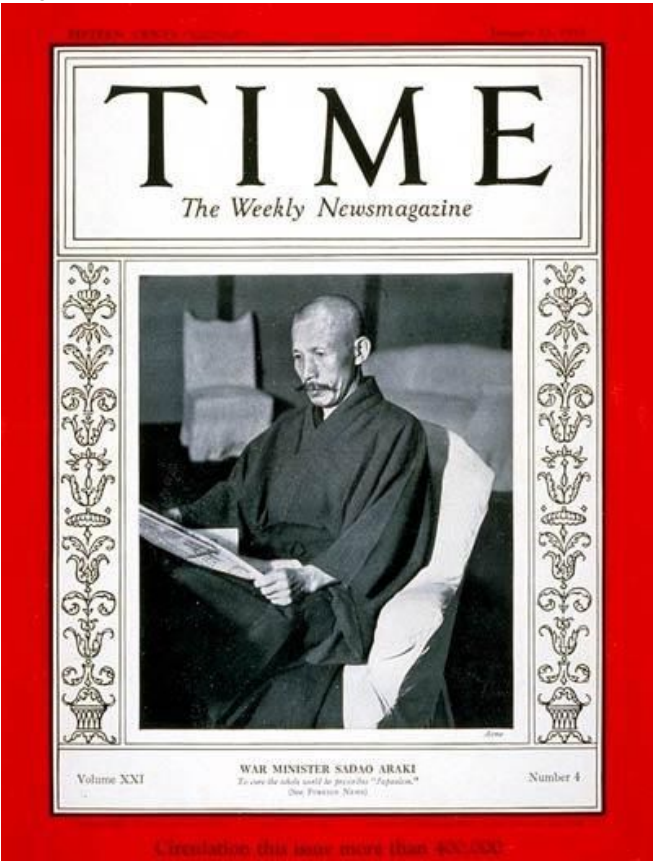


Left: General Hideki Tojo (東条 英機), Prime Minister of Japan (1941-1944), Minister of War (1940-1944), and convicted war criminal who was executed by hanging in Tokyo on December 23, 1948, appears on the front cover of the November 3, 1941 edition of *Time* magazine.

Right: Koki Hirota (広田 弘毅), Prime Minister of Japan (1936-1937), Foreign Minister of Japan (1933-1936, 1937-1938), and convicted war criminal, appears on the front cover of the May 21, 1934 edition of *Time* magazine.



Left: Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai (米内 光政), Prime Minister of Japan (1940) and Navy Minister of Japan (1937-1939, 1944-1945), appears on the front cover of the March 4, 1940 edition of *Time* magazine. Admiral Yonai opposed the Tripartite Pact.



Right: Sadao Araki (荒木 貞夫), Minister of War (1931-1934), appears on the front cover of the January 23, 1933 edition of *Time* magazine.



Left: Yosuke Matsuoka, Foreign Minister of Japan (1940-July 1941) and President of South Manchuria Railroad Company (1935-1939) who was tried as a war criminal, appears on the front cover of the July 7, 1941 edition of *Time* magazine.



Right: Kōsai [Yasuya] Uchida (内田 康哉), Foreign Minister of Japan (1911-1912, 1918-1923, 1932-1933) and President of the South Manchuria Railroad Company (June 1931-July 1932), appears on the front cover of the September 5, 1932 edition of Time magazine.